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New Republic

FEBRUARY 2, 1948

JAN 30 1948

ATOMIC WAR AGAINST THE U.S.S.R.

1 THE U.S. PLAN OF AIR CONQUEST By WILLIAM WALTON

2 NEW GERM AND VAPOR TECHNIQUES By BRUCE BLIVEN

3 THE REARMAMENT PROGRAM By MICHAEL STRAIGHT

15¢

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Where is UN?

To date 684 Hebrews and Arabs have been killed in Palestine and over 1,500 wounded. In addition, several hundred Hebrews have been massacred in adjoining Arab countries. All these are victims of the murder plot hatched by the Arab League whose members are the heads of Arab Governments and whose leader is the Nazi War Criminal, Mufti Haj Amin Husseini. And this is just the beginning. Those who started the bloodshed hope the violence will develop into total war—a war that may engulf again the nations of the world, including our own.

Mocked and Flouted

THIS murder campaign to nullify the UN partition of Palestine is shamelessly conducted for all to see. Openly, the Arab Governments—all members of UN—are collecting a war chest of millions of dollars and training armies to invade the Holy Land. Just as openly, they are now sending arms and men from Syria and Lebanon, from Egypt and Iraq and Transjordan. Brazenly, they threaten extermination of all Hebrews in Palestine and 500,000 Jews in their own countries whom they hold as hostages.

Where is UN? Is it impotent or indifferent? Why does UN allow its own members to mock and flout it? Why does it not stop these outrageous attacks on innocent people, these flagrant violations of international law, this contemptuous disregard of the UN Charter which promises peace and security to all?

Where was UN?

THE bloodshed in Palestine today is the product of yesterday's speeches at Lake Success. One Arab delegate after another threatened to let loose violence and war if UN dared to deny their demands. But not once were they called to order. President Aranha was silent; so was Secretary-General Trygve Lie; so were the delegates of democratic nations.

Where was UN? Where was the Security Council? Where was the machinery of expulsions and sanctions whereby aggressors will be kept from jeopardizing the safety of small nations and the peace of the world?

British "Neutrality"

ENCOURAGED by the indifference and inaction of UN, the British Government in Palestine has embarked on its well-known policy of "neutrality" between Arab assassins and their Hebrew victims.

Here are some facts about British "neutrality" reported by American correspondents: (1) There are over 100,000 British troops and police, fully mechanized and equipped for a major war; there are less than 2,000 Arab terrorists. (2) Armed Arab bands are allowed to cross the frontiers of Palestine; unarmed Hebrews who try to come in are sent to concentration camps in Cyprus. (3) The day before the Arab outbreak of assassination, arson, and looting, British forces were given orders "not to interfere"; Hebrew police were forbidden to use their weapons and armored cars. (4) During the past month, armed Arabs have been permitted to move unhindered throughout the country, to attack isolated settlements, to rob trains and shoot up truck convoys, and to lay siege to the Hebrews in the "old city" of Jerusalem; Hebrews bearing arms are arrested if caught and Hebrew Resistance forces are fired upon on sight by British troops.

Yet no official of UN has admonished the British Government to enforce law and order without favor or prejudice; no UN representative has been sent to observe British dereliction of duty and call it to the attention of the International Court of Justice or of world public opinion; no step has been taken toward establishing an International **Police Force.**

Who Was Wronged?

UN's decision represents the third partition of Palestine. Of the 60,000 square miles allocated at the Versailles Peace Conference, with the approval of the Arab delegates, to the Jewish National Homeland, 16,000 square miles were ceded by the British to the Arabs of Syria and Lebanon in 1918; 34,000 square miles were given by the British to the 335,000 Arabs of Transjordan in 1922. Of the remainder, UN allotted to the 3,000,000 homeless Hebrew people 1,200 square miles of arable land and 4,000 square miles of desert.

Appeal to Americans

THIS is a call to the American people, made in the name of justice and humanity. The lives of 3,000,000 Hebrews in Palestine, in the Middle East, and in Europe depend upon YOU—as do the lives of a million Arabs who are helpless pawns in the hands of their chiefs. For only the power of American public opinion expressed in forceful and immediate action, can save them from the tragedy plotted by the criminal Mufti and other ruthless Arab potentates.

The horror and indignation of the American people can put a stop to murder. American political pressure can awaken the callous statesmen of the Great Powers to their responsibilities. By exerting their great moral influence Americans can encourage UN officials to do their duty and to apply the full strength of the UN organization to the solution of this crisis.

If we Americans but wish it, we can save these lives and safeguard the peace of the world.

YOU can do your part

EVERY American can do his share to achieve this. You as well as your neighbor and your neighbor's neighbor. We call upon you to do your part.

1. Write Secretary-General Trygve Lie requesting immediate disciplinary action against Arab members of UN as aggressors in an undeclared war.

2. Write or wire Senator Warren Austin, Chief American Delegate to UN, demanding adequate measures by the Security Council to insure peace in the Holy Land, including the establishment and use of a Volunteer International Police Force.

3. Write your newspaper and radio station asking them to bring these facts to the attention of the American people.

4. Help us as generously as you can to awaken the conscience of America and to rally American public opinion behind this program by similar advertisements in important newspapers throughout the country, by local and national radio broadcasts, and by all other means of public information.

GIVE ALL YOU CAN AFFORD
WE ASK IT IN BEHALF OF HUMAN LIFE

POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE FOR PALESTINE

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New Republic

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PUBLISHED WEEKLY AND COPYRIGHT, 1948, IN THE U. S. A. BY EDITORIAL PUBLICATIONS, INC., 40 EAST 49 ST., NEW YORK 17, N. Y. ENTERED AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER, NOVEMBER 6, 1914, AT THE POST OFFICE AT NEW YORK, N. Y., UNDER THE ACT OF MARCH 3, 1879. SINGLE COPY, 15¢; YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION, SIX DOLLARS; CANADA & FOREIGN, SEVEN DOLLARS. Printed in the U. S. A.

WASHINGTON WIRE

IT'S TAKEN FOR GRANTED here that a big, inflationary, election-year tax cut is going to the White House soon, and that, as far as doing anything about high prices goes, the American system of government has broken down—or never was strong enough.

There are few better ways of ruining America's foreign policy than letting inflation continue, but that's what is going to happen. The Kremlin, of course, has counted all along on American inflation; and its real allies in America—the big capitalists—are out now to deliver the goods. Joe Stalin is rubbing his hands, and Harold Knutson had better watch out or he'll get a Red Army award.

The funny thing about it all is that the Republicans used to be called the "sound money" party. Conservative editorial writers who used to beat their breasts over debts FDR contracted for social reforms, are now strangely silent over the vastly bigger federal debt and are favoring tax cuts. About the only "sound money" backers left are subversive organs like the *New Republic*, the *Nation* and a few others.

Ike's neat trick. General Ike's timing of his withdrawal statement was certainly neat. It blanketed the publication date of the *Reader's Digest* and *Coronet*, carrying articles practically electing him. And many an embarrassed correspondent is aware of forthcoming predictions of his own that are already in the works.

Eisenhower's political suicide probably killed off MacArthur, too, which is one cheerful thought. Ike's previous boom had also gained such momentum as to cause cautious Governor Dewey to declare himself a week before—something Tip-Toe Tom probably never would have done otherwise. It is a little hard to see why Ike was so coy, missed several chances to say "No," then took 800 words to say it. We surmise he finally decided to clean his conscience beyond all peradventure. A deadlocked GOP convention might still nominate him, but after this it will need more than a "draft." It will take a tornado.

We think Eisenhower could have been President. He leaves the campaign a duller affair. There is rejoicing in all the other political camps (particularly Albany and the White House), but sorrow in the hearts of the voters. Yet this must be said. Ike belonged to a dream world where he still meant all things to all men; his probable victory would have swept in a reactionary GOP horde; and, finally, we really don't like generals in office.

ERP puzzle. There is always a temptation for Administration Marshall Plan advocates to demagogue it through Congress on a hate-Russia tide. There are really three bases on which the plan can be presented: a relief program, a reconstruction program, and an anti-Soviet program.

Peripatetic colleagues of ours report that masses of the nation still can't understand the plan as anything but an anti-Russian drive, and this shows up in many congressional statements.

Listening to testimony here, we must say we are impressed by the statesmanlike emphasis put by men like Marshall, Bernard Baruch, John Foster Dulles and some others on the broader, reconstruction purpose, with the frequently expressed hope that satellite nations, and maybe even Russia herself, will ultimately join.

On the other hand, the "scare technique" has been adopted by Forrestal and Royall, who say if we don't have ERP we may have conscription, and so on. The Taft-Hoover approach is, of course, that the whole thing is just relief and ought to be scaled down.

We figure that the side issue of the

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administration of ERP is going to be compromised and that the real crisis over the amount won't come up for a month or so yet. The New York *Times* charges Taft with advocating a "watered-down ERP," which probably tastes even nastier than it sounds.

We heard old Bill Green of the AFL tell the Senate Foreign Relations Committee how labor plans to convince European trade unions that the program is lofty and American motives pure, contrary to Communist insinuations. He was followed immediately by Curtis Calder, NAM spokesman, who said the plan should prohibit any more nationalization of industries in Europe or Socialist nonsense of that sort. Left to itself, we think the Administration will fight such NAM "strings" almost as strongly as the AFL.

Biggest show. As far as we could judge against the blinding glare of floodlights at the Petrillo hearing last week, they had the biggest show of the year. There are five newsreel companies and you can tell whether a Washington performance is tops by how many of them send cameras. Petrillo, like Secretary Marshall, is a five-tripod man.

In addition, there were two even bulkier machines with the little red eyes on them that we are getting to learn mean television. There were six microphones before Chairman Hartley and six before Petrillo, and canned records were being made for later radio performance, in addition to "live" broadcasts.

Now and then Petrillo held his hand up to shade his eyes from the blinding lights, while the "still" photographers bobbed up and down out of the mob like dolphins. Petrillo may be able to keep musicians off the air, but there was no doubt that he was being recorded extensively himself.

Washington T. R. B.

"Mention Roosevelt, but don't quote him."

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VOLUME 118, NUMBER 5, ISSUE 1731, NEW YORK CITY, FEBRUARY 2, 1948 **New Republic**

THE WEEK

THE SHOCK of one world war and the spectre of others yet to come lay heavily on the President's mind the day he arrived in Kansas City, Missouri. Democratic leaders who shook his hand noticed this preoccupation; later, as they listened to his speech they learned what was disturbing him. In a tired, flat voice, the President spoke of armaments:

"You know, my fellow citizens, what armaments mean: great standing armies, great stores of war materials. They do not mean burdensome taxation merely; they do not mean merely compulsory military service which saps the economic strength of the nations; but they mean also the building up of a military class. . . .

"So soon as you have a military class, it does not make any difference what your form of government is; if you are determined to be armed to the teeth, you must obey the orders and directions of the only men who can control the great machinery of war.

"Elections are of minor importance, because they determine the political policy, and back of that political policy is the constant pressure of the men trained to arms, enormous bodies of disciplined men, wondering if they are never going to be allowed to use their education and their skill and ravage some great people with the force of arms. That is the meaning of armaments. . . ."

The speaker was Woodrow Wilson. The date: September 6, 1919.

Tactical Maneuvers

SAN FRANCISCO (NR correspondent)

THE TRIAL EXAMINER in a strike dispute between the Sunset Line and Twine Company of Petaluma and Warehouse Local 6 of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union has rejected all company charges against the strikers. In addition he has proved that even a labor squabble is good for an occasional laugh.

In one case of alleged "violence," for instance, a company watchman testified that 25 tacks had been picked up in each of his rear tires as he entered the plant driveway. The examiner responded by asking the watchman if he always drove his car backwards, then threw out the evidence.

MARTIN'S TAX GIMMICK

Presto! House Speaker Joseph W. Martin (R, Mass.), who has announced that the GOP will sponsor the Knutson tax-cut bill, has discovered a new gimmick for reducing the debt by $2 billion while the Knutson proposal is lopping $5.6 billion off the government's income.

First of all, Martin throws out the President's estimate that next year's national income will be $192 billion. Whereas Truman's figure assumes that prices will remain "close to the present level," Martin feels that inflation will boost national income to $200 billion. Thus Speaker Joe gets $8 billion extra taxable income to play around with.

Then Martin will simply tweak the $8 billion, as if it were the ears of a rabbit in a silk hat, and out will come enough extra tax money to reduce the debt. Meantime the voters will be having their taxes shaved with Knutson's razor, putting them in a mellow mood by November.

EISENHOWER OUT?

Maybe. Whatever its other results, General Dwight D. Eisenhower's letter may have a soothing effect on the high brass of the Pentagon Building.

During the last six months, a somewhat unpleasant feeling has grown up in the Army's inner circle. Before then, the Army Chief-of-Staff had had the unanimous respect and admiration of those closest to him both because of his obvious abilities and because of his warm personality. But his highest Army colleagues came to feel, as Eisenhower filled more and more speaking engagements around the country, that Ike was neglecting his job; even worse, dimming the luster of the office of Army Chief-of-Staff as a non-political institution.

The fact is that Eisenhower, perhaps to avoid the embarrassment of seeing too much of Commander-in-Chief Harry Truman, has absented himself from Washington for considerable periods. His office has been run by his deputy, Lieutenant General J. Lawton ("Lightning Joe") Collins. Though empowered to make day-to-day decisions, General Collins could not fill the Chief-of-Staff's shoes in more important conferences with Defense Sec-

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retary James V. Forrestal, the Secretary of the Army, Kenneth C. Royall, and the chiefs of the other services.

As a result, Pentagon insiders say a welter of unmade decisions await General Omar N. Bradley when he takes office as Ike's successor, some that should not have been postponed this long.

An even more serious view is taken by the top brass, many of them Ike's lifelong friends, of the way Eisenhower's conduct has affected the office of Chief-of-Staff, no matter how good his eventual intentions. His Army friends, of course not averse to having a general as President, feel he should not have allowed his flirtation with the presidency to get so far out of hand while he was still Chief-of-Staff. That office, the Army's highest, should be free from political coloration, particularly as a matter of maintaining public confidence in the Army.

Either, or. According to this view, Eisenhower should have either left office for keeps on January 1 or made such a clear-cut, unambiguous statement that no doubt remained about his future.

His New Hampshire letter is a belated gesture in the latter direction, though not quite so definite as his Army friends wished. When General William T. Sherman in 1884 said curtly, "If nominated, I will not accept. If elected, I will not serve," he used only 12 words in leaving absolutely no doubt of his state of mind. Eisenhower's 800-word letter was full of the reasoning of a man making up his mind. And, though he said, "I could not accept nomination," he still left the impression that events, foreign or domestic, could make a devoted public servant carry his reasoning far enough to accept nomination.

Obviously there are political currents deeper than appear on the surface of the Eisenhower letter. One of them was indicated by the would-be President-maker, Roy Roberts of the Kansas City *Star*, who predicted two days in advance that his friend Eisenhower would make some such disclaimer. Another friend, Ike's wartime aide Harry Butcher, was at the same time recalling in the current issue of *Coronet* a statement that the General made privately several years ago: "The only way they could get me to be President is for both parties to nominate me unanimously."

Ike Eisenhower hasn't yet said that he has changed his mind.

LOSING TEAM

BALTIMORE (NR correspondent)

"Stupid." At an inquiry last week to decide whether the Fulton PCA Juniors basketball team might continue in a municipal league with two Negro boys on its squad (the *NR*, January 19), 12-year-old Jean Camper told the Bureau of Recreation that it was "very stupid" to bother with a hearing on such a simple matter.

But although most of the audience appeared to agree with the Negro girl's remark, the bureau thought otherwise; with a special police detail looking on protectively, it voted by secret ballot to reaffirm its policy of excluding from league competition any team which carries both Negro and white players on its roster.

GEORGIA LOYALTY

Pledge. Negroes who try to vote in the Johnson County, Georgia, Democratic primary election in March will have to sign a pledge that they favor both a "white primary" and "preservation of segregation for the races as now exists in Georgia."

The seven-point pledge that all voters must take was announced last week by Democratic Executive Committee Chairman W. C. Brinson.

Before casting their ballots, voters must also pledge that they favor the county-unit system now existing in Georgia; oppose communism; oppose enactment into law of regulations as promulgated by the FEPC; will support the nominees of the primary in the general election; and oppose any organization that seeks to destroy the Constitution of the United States and the Constitution of Georgia.

OKLAHOMA STALLS

Segregation. With the University of Oklahoma's spring semester under way, Mrs. Ada Lois Sipuel Fisher, 23-year-old Negro, is still no closer to obtaining her law education than she was two years ago when she first sought permission to enter the state's only law school (the *NR*, January 26).

The case, originally filed in District Judge Justin Hinshaw's court, has run the legal gamut. After the US Supreme Court decreed that Oklahoma must provide Mrs. Fisher with a legal education in a state institution "and provide it as soon as it does for applicants of any other group," the case landed back on Judge Hinshaw's desk.

Last week he ordered the University to enroll Mrs. Fisher until equal facilities can be provided, or refrain from accepting any first-year law-school enrolments this semester. The directive leaves much to be desired by both the school officials and the lawyers handling Mrs. Fisher's case.

The university authorities are determined to carry out the state's policy of segregation, but are faced with the dilemma of setting up a new law school in four days. Amos Hall, attorney for Mrs. Fisher, is just as determined to settle for nothing less than the admission of Mrs. Fisher to the University of Oklahoma, since any "separate" law school opened in four days would be far from "equal" to the 40-year-old University Law School.

PROPAGANDA BY THE POUND

Trickery. A Military Government report now in the hands of General Lucius D. Clay reveals that German public-health officials in the US zone have been deliberately exaggerating the loss of weight due to malnutrition by an average of five pounds a person.

Reports of US nutrition teams which regularly sample the weight of the German population show that in October the average weight of men between the ages of 20 and 39 was slightly more than 137 pounds. A sample by German teams, on the other hand, listed the average weight for the same

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group at less than 132 pounds, and inferentially attributed the weight loss to malnutrition.

Clay's headquarters feels that the German teams deliberately falsified the records to present the darkest possible picture of conditions in order to obtain additional US aid.

HIGH PRICE OF PROFIT

The record. This week's crop of financial statements caught companies with their profits showing, and poked large holes in the full-page ads blaming high prices on farmers and labor.

Wilson and Company, third-largest meat packer in the country, announced 1947 earnings of $1,448,823, almost twice what it made in 1946 and five times its 1937-40 average. In addition to these record profit figures, Wilson reported that it had added $12 million worth of inventories and increased its working capital $6.5 million.

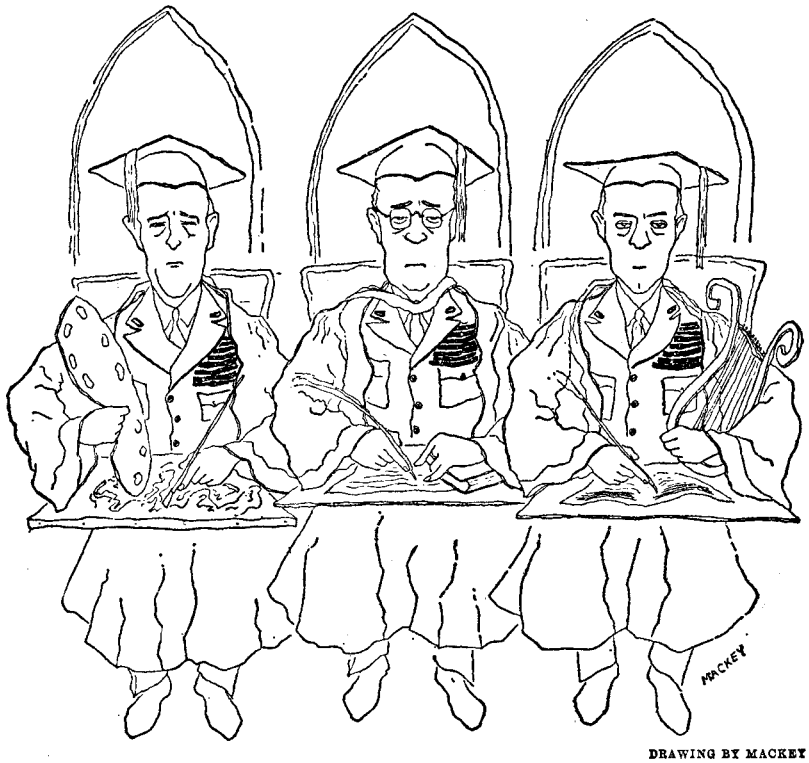
President Edward F. Wilson attached to the profit report a denial that his company's prices had anything to do with causing inflation. He did point out, though, that most of the 69-percent increase in revenue came from higher meat prices.

A smaller, but important, part came from hides, which link Wilson to the leather industry. Tanners have blamed the rising leather prices on the high cost of hides. Some light was thrown on this by a report of the earnings of the US Leather Company, a substantial factor in the business. Its profits of $1,599,855, with an additional $1.5 million set aside for reserves, were six times last year's earnings and substantially ahead of anything the company had done since its organization in 1927.

And the International Shoe Company, maker of 11 percent of the country's footwear, announced 1947 earnings of $14 million, compared with $5.4 in very prosperous 1946.

Despite record prices and earnings, production of cattle, leather and shoes was off in 1947. And despite its earnings, International Shoe announced that its price hikes of last October—95 cents on men's shoes and 50 cents on women's—would be maintained for some of its lines this spring and be increased for others.

Other manufacturers raised spring prices as much as 15 percent, despite industry economists' predictions that this would restrict production to 390 million pairs this year. This week in Boston shoe machines and shoe workers were idle as manufacturers shut down rather than cut prices.



DRAWING BY MACKEY

Gag Rule, New Style

THE REPORT on "The Militarization of America," issued recently by Dr. Albert Einstein and a group of scientists, clerics and educators (the *NR*, January 26), stressed that "the military have been preparing a peacetime censorship, full details of which have not yet been announced."

Although these details still remain obscure, the method to be used is becoming clearer. It is the old military dodge of making it appear that the press wants to be censored and is ready to lend some of its own men to do the job.

Captain Robert Berry, USN, press-relations aide to Defense Secretary James V. Forrestal, has let it be known that in response to requests from newspaper, radio and magazine editors, the Secretary will soon call a conference of top press, radio and movie executives to work out a voluntary scheme. This group will be told the problem and will then decide what should be kept secret.

A group of paid professional news, radio and movie men, under a civilian chief, would then be set up *in Forrestal's office* to advise the various media on a 24-hours-a-day basis. The final decision as to whether or not to publish a story which the board decides is harmful to the United States would rest with the editor.

He would be free to decide whether to commit treason or not.

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HERBERT HOOVER, THE NO. 1 GERMANY-FIRSTER

by Helen Fuller

HERBERT HOOVER and his followers see the European Recovery Program as their last, best hope for legalizing a strong, reindustrialized Germany.

In a letter to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on ERP, the depression President made it clear that his own plan for Europe amounts to reconstruction for Germany, relief for the rest of Europe. The qualifications with which he supports ERP —almost halve the amount, hand over administration to business, make Germany the hub of the European economic wheel—would negate Secretary of State George C. Marshall's original proposal.

For months, the Herter Committee on European Aid has been passing for a high-minded, bipartisan group of Good Samaritans. Actually, the Herter bill that is being urged as a substitute for ERP was mainly a Hoover product. Chairman Christian A. Herter (R, Mass.), a Hoover protégé, allowed Allen Dulles, international banker and friend of Hoover, to do the drafting, called in other like-minded Wall Streeters to help.

One of the main goals of the Hoover crowd is to get Germany out of really paying for the war, and on this basic point Hoover seems to have calculated accurately. There is a good chance that the Republicans will be able to force the Administration to kill the German-reparations program as the price for some kind of ERP. A full-scale, anti-reparations-propaganda job is under way, and there is no sign that the Administration is prepared to hold firm against such a concession.

Bank and brass. Hoover, the Herter group in Congress, banking and investment firms with interests in Germany, and top Army men, led by Undersecretary of the Army William H. Draper, stand united against any further dismantling of German industries. Against such odds, those who favor carrying out reparations agreements with our other allies are not at all sure of their footing.

It is becoming clearer that one of the few ways open to help Europe increase production before it is too late is to redistribute Germany's surplus industrial plant.

Approximately $1 billion worth of plant and another $1 billion in frozen foreign assets are the total Germany is asked to pay for her vast wartime depredations. But opponents of the program are creating bottlenecks.

Draper's heirs. A main trouble is with General Lucius D. Clay's staff, which includes many men left behind by Draper when he was promoted to Washington. Clay's orders, therefore, must be carried out by "strong Germany"-minded assistants. They dismantle at snail's pace and their opposite numbers in Washington drive ahead with "strong Germany" propaganda.

Day after day Republicans like Senator Styles Bridges (N. H.) and Representative Francis Case (S. D.) shout the "build Germany" theme. More sophisticated GOP-ers like John Foster Dulles take a smoother line. Dulles is for reparations and for controls that "will assure that the German economy will neither be diverted to war purposes nor be usable as an economic weapon against other peoples."

But, in his testimony before the Senate Committee on ERP, Dulles explained that to "duplicate" the German steel-processing industry in France would entail rearranging the flow of coal and iron ore between the Ruhr and Alsace-Lorraine, and that "would not be economic." Dulles testified that "there is no difficulty at all" in working out "a program under which all [the Western European] countries will be delighted to see Germany restored and smoke pouring out of the factories in the Ruhr as rapidly as possible."

The Inter-Allied Reparations Agency could show Dulles fat official records to the contrary. France, Belgium, the Netherlands and many others want German equipment with which to rebuild their own devastated economies.

England is now reaping the benefits of some reparations plants she has rebuilt in Britain. Millions of tons of steel and other industrial capacity lie idle in western Germany. Today Germany still has a far larger industrial plant than when Hitler took power.

No New Deal. But some Americans fear Russia so much that, rather than allow her the 20 percent of total reparations she was allotted by the Paris pact, they would deny to all of Europe the new vitality that an industrial New Deal for Europe would bring. Other Americans think only of regaining their lost profits from German investments, of finally freeing the frozen "German" external assets that belong to them.

Senators Bridges and James O. Eastland (D, Miss.) have introduced a bill to prohibit any further dismantling of German plants. The Hoover testimony, and the carefully planned propaganda drive behind it, will give real impetus to this measure. The reparations program seems doomed unless the Administration has the courage to tell the country what the issues really are.

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HENRY WALLACE'S COLUMN

The People Talk

FOR THE third time in my life, the people of the US have poured out more than ten thousand letters and telegrams upon me. The first occasion was when the reactionaries staged their great fight to prevent me from becoming Secretary of Commerce. The second was when I resigned as Secretary of Commerce. The third outpouring, on the occasion of my announced candidacy for the presidency of the United States, was the most amazing of the three because the letters revealed a greater depth of emotional feeling, a more profound concern, and an anxiety to do something.

Four or five letters out of a hundred are against my candidacy. Of these one or two are friendly but question the wisdom of the step I have taken. About one in a thousand is violent, threatening the use of force and indulging in name calling and even obscenity. Such letters are almost never signed.

Typical of the ordinary people is a lady from Chicago, who writes: "Misfortune for us Chicagoans they did not let us hear your voice when you spoke in Chicago. They fear lest 'We the people' should hear the Truth. So here is my dollar for your campaign. You are our hope for the future. Also the hope of the world."

An Ohio small businessman writes: "As a candidate for Democratic Committeeman in my ward you may be sure that I will do everything in my power to help in your campaign. Although there are objections to any independent party among Democrats and liberals at the present time, as the campaign develops and the issues clarify themselves, your program will take precedence over party, and I think we all may be surprised by the result."

A Missouri boy writes: "You might be interested in my mother's reaction to your announcement speech. She is a Republican, and a rather strong one, although she can't stand Taft. She had been quite vocal in her comments about you and especially my admiration for you. But when you finished, and while I was sitting there, thinking, she got up from the bed where she had been resting and said, 'You know what I'm gonna do? I'm gonna register and vote for that man. He talks plain common sense'."

Several people have expressed the unwarranted belief that I must have a very special influence with the Kremlin. A Minnesota man, for example, who has produced more than 10,000 strawberry seedlings, wants me to get some special Russian varieties for him. Another man wrote wanting me to help him get his Russian wife out of the USSR. What these people don't realize is that I have no influential friends in Russia and I have never gotten any favors from Russia when I have passed on to the Russian Embassy requests of this sort. So far as I know, none of my requests has ever met a favorable response. Incidentally, I have never met Stalin nor have I ever been in European Russia, although some of those who write letters to me assume that I have spent a considerable part of my life hobnobbing with the Politburo.

A month or two ago I left my hat with the hat-check girl at a New York hotel. When I reclaimed it I found that somebody had thoughtfully inscribed in it, "Moscow, December, 1945. Joseph Stalin."

More than any other public figure, I have insisted that the United States try to understand Russia's attitude and its causes, as well as our own. That is all the Russia-haters have needed to build me up into an apologist for the USSR.

A Philadelphia lawyer writes: "I welcome your decision to run for President as an Independent. It is a historic decision which can only bring good to our country. From now on I shall do my utmost to bring about your election and the election of those officials who endorse your policy of peace, enunciated in yesterday's message."

An Ohio college professor writes: "You have been called an appeaser and a traitor. These are epithets that can be variously defined. I know of no one so clearly and energetically fighting evil as you; far from appeasing it in any guise, you are courageously challenging it where it is most difficult but most necessary to challenge it—at home! You have stood against appeasement of native reaction. As for treason, the best and truest defense of the republic lies not in the over-clever planning of professional military men or private imperialists, but in a sound foreign policy. You have absorbed a great deal of punishment already, but the worst is yet to come. Don't let the bitterness of this experience cause you to lose faith in the common man."

I like the emphasis of this college professor on appeasement because, like him, I am much more fearful of appeasing the native-born fascists than I am of appeasing Russia. I am not for either Russia or the Communists, but I do think that those who liken me to Chamberlain are in the same category as those who initiated the anti-Comintern movement back in the

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late thirties. The anti-Comintern bloc of those days produced war and misery. Its spiritual descendants of today will produce a greater war and a greater misery if the liberals of the US and Britain appease them.

A Wisconsin man who sends in a money order for $10 writes: "We can beat the Democratic Party; then the reactionaries will join the Republican Party. Then we shall take over the Democratic Party machinery, merge it with the third party, and have again a two-party system: a reactionary Republican and a People's Democrat Party, a liberal party for peace and humanity. I am a retired schoolteacher but I can still ring doorbells and talk and distribute literature, handbills, anything."

An Ohio Republican writes a letter to say that except for voting Bull Moose in 1912 and for Norman Thomas in 1932, he has always voted Republican. He says I missed the boat in my radio-speech announcement because I didn't talk enough about the high cost of living. He is a small businessman and writer and feels the weight of monopoly. "Everything is becoming monopolized; even the field where I made some money, that of the newspaper. Today it is hell to sell your special articles as was done 10 or 15 years ago. Everything is syndicated these days and you take what the syndicate wants to pay, and when. Free enterprise—where is it? You tell me.

"In 1940, both my wife and I wrote propaganda for the Willkie campaign. Today the stuffed shirts in the Republican Party think they don't need us. I am afraid that 1948 will be a rude awakening to them. You can win in 1948, I am sure. I say this because of what I hear in normally Republican communities. No doubt the smear artists will get busy at once, but just bear in mind that Mark Hanna won elections by waving a picture of a full dinner pail before the voters. If I can help, call on me."

A western Pennsylvania veteran writes: "I am glad to enter a new campaign for peace and democracy."

An Ohio labor-union leader says that the rank and file of labor will rally to the fight. He liked the way I tied in the foreign, militaristic policy with the price of butter, eggs and meat, and he concludes with the pledge, "I will help in every way possible to win the peace, change the face of Congress and put a great leader in the White House."

A Pennsylvania housewife writes, "I am not young, but once more I feel like ringing doorbells and getting out the vote. Your speech has filled us with a renewed hope and strength and vigor. You will be lambasted by the press—so was Franklin Roosevelt. You will be red-baited almost beyond endurance—so was Franklin Roosevelt. But we, the people, went out and rang doorbells from 1932 through 1944 and we won."

A railroad conductor says that "Truman and the Democrats are now no better than Hoover, Vandenberg, Taft and the other Republicans. I want to organize meetings, distribute literature, speak and work as I did for FDR. If the new party will come out strong for the RR workers, the Rubs and Dems will be weaker and wiser on election day."

A union carpenter from Kentucky, who was head of his union for 15 years, writes that he will support me no matter what ticket I run on. He says the money power will fight me to the finish but that this will not deceive the workers.

A housewife from Minnesota writes: "The very day of your speech, we had to borrow $5 from our grocer for medicine for our baby, who was very ill. My husband suffered a nervous breakdown, and I also became mentally ill, due to hardships of living in one room without bath or water and where rats bit our sleeping baby at night. Now that we've recuperated, spending half our income to buy a 50-year-old home at wildly inflated prices doesn't help. America, to some of us who worked our way through high school and college on the NYA, who grew up when depression's black clouds loomed over our families and our futures, offers little security or hope for the years ahead. Such minor recreation as a movie has become a luxury because there is not enough money for clothes and shoes, and one by one we are dropping necessary food items off the shopping list. We are counting on you! We'll help you! Let's have a Re-Deal in '49."

At this point, the man of the house came in and added to her letter: "I just a few minutes ago returned from a union meeting to find this letter of my wife's on the kitchen table. Accept my second to everything she says. As for myself, I am a rank-and-file unionist. I fear that some itchy finger is going to precipitate a shooting war in Greece or Italy. I just can't make this pay check of mine stretch these days. I resent the invasion of our civil liberties."

A schoolteacher from a small New York village writes: "Out of my pittance as a teacher, I'll send you a contribution and volunteer my services if you can present the following story: The American public-school system must be strengthened and protected because it is the one institution that unites our people instead of dividing them. Instead of investing billions annually in military conscription, put the federal money into public schools. If we put through conscription, the only thing our children can look ahead to after they get out of public schools is regimentation and militarism. Federal aid is important, but please remember that federal aid is wrong when the legislators owe their loyalty to private groups. There must be no permissive legislation to allow the unequal distribution of school money. Minority religious groups must not be allowed to take over our schools."

A small-town Missouri man urges an amendment to the Constitution to prevent the use of public money for the support of sectarian institutions. And so it goes on and on, indicating that the minds of the American people are in the greatest ferment in the history of our glorious land.

Henry A. Wallace

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TO REARM FOR "PEACE"

The "Defense" program of the President's Air Policy Commission portends an atomic-bomb offensive against the USSR

by William Walton

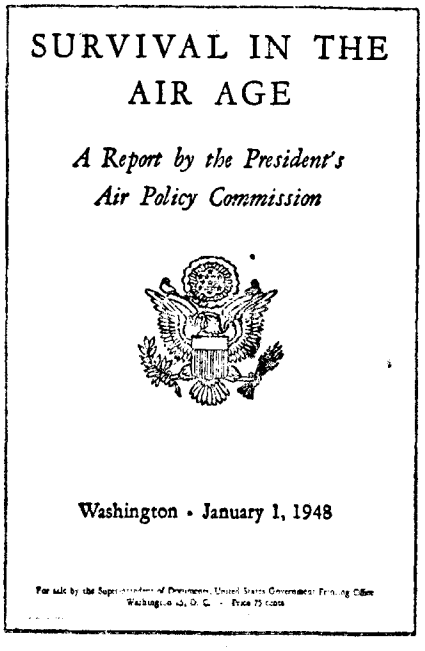
THE NEWLY PUBLISHED REPORT of the President's Air Policy Commission is a bold step forward in the rearmament campaign. The commissioners, all civilians holding temporary presidential appointments, followed conventional trends of military thinking about the state of international affairs and reached conventional conclusions about the need for armed might in a world where peace machinery is almost as far from perfection as it was the day war ended.

Wings for the atom. But the commissioners, under the chairmanship of Thomas K. Finletter, reached less conventional conclusions about the way national security should be achieved. Their report went whole-hog for the theory that air power is the perfect complement to atomic power and that the next war will be fought in terms of those weapons. Neither conclusion will be exactly popular with dyed-in-the-wool Navy men or advocates of big standing armies. The aircraft industry, for which the commission urged massive financial support, naturally greeted the report with cries of gladness. It was just the kind of report they had been plugging for in long hours of testimony before the commission all fall.

This commission method of investigation and report is one President Truman has used so often it has become a pattern of his administration's way of preparing legislation. On such diverse matters as Universal Military Training, the state of civil liberties and the nation's ability to pay for Marshall Plan loans to Europe, the President has used committees of private citizens to sift facts and ideas. Invariably their reports have been the basis for legislative programs recommended to Congress.

On the question of air power the President was motivated by a desire to discover some way out of an impasse in which he, as Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, finds himself.

The Joint Chiefs of Staff, operating under the Secretary of Defense, have the responsibility of deciding over-all military strategy for the nation. But thus far the Joint Chiefs, representing as they do varied prejudices concerning the importance of land, air and sea weapons, have been unable to chart a unified grand strategy for their Commander-in-Chief. So Truman appointed the Finletter commission to study air policy, hoping that its report could give enough practical guidance on the importance of air power so that appropriations, in the end, would decide strategy. In other words, if Congress, on reading the commission's report, believes sufficiently in air power to appropriate sufficient funds, and thus change the present balance among sea, ground and air forces, the final strategy would be determined by the weapons in hand.



The commission confirmed Truman's dilemma, reporting that "the Secretary of Defense has been unable to comply with a request" for what the precise requirements of the Air Force and the Naval Air Arm will be at specified future dates. But the commission, plunging ahead with its task, listened to some eloquent testimony on the subject of what part air power should play in national strategy. Air power, declared Undersecretary of State Robert A. Lovett, is "the cheapest way of buying national security." Lovett was Assistant Secretary of War for Air during World War II.

Military assumptions. Between September 17 and December 3, the commission heard, among others, public testimony from 71 representatives of the aircraft industry, 19 officials of government departments, 16 military and naval witnesses and one lone representative of labor, David J. McDonald, secretary-treasurer of the United Steelworkers. Though the roster was heavily weighted in favor of industry, the commission heard more extensively from the military behind closed doors. And what secret, strategical information was given impressed the commissioners so greatly that their final report, entitled "Survival in the Air Age," was as generous in recommended appropriations as the Air Force could have wished.

They asked that current Air Force appropriations of $2.85 billion be increased to provide $4.15 billion for the Air Force during 1948, and $5.45 billion during 1949. The trend in appropriations, the commission declared, should thereafter continue upward. In addition, it asked additional funds for naval planes and huge appropriations for research on guided missiles, supersonic aircraft, electronics, etc.

"We must be supreme in the air by the weight of our air power," the commission declared emphatically. "Of course an adequate Navy and Ground Force must be maintained. But it is the Air Force and naval aviation on which we must mainly rely. Our military

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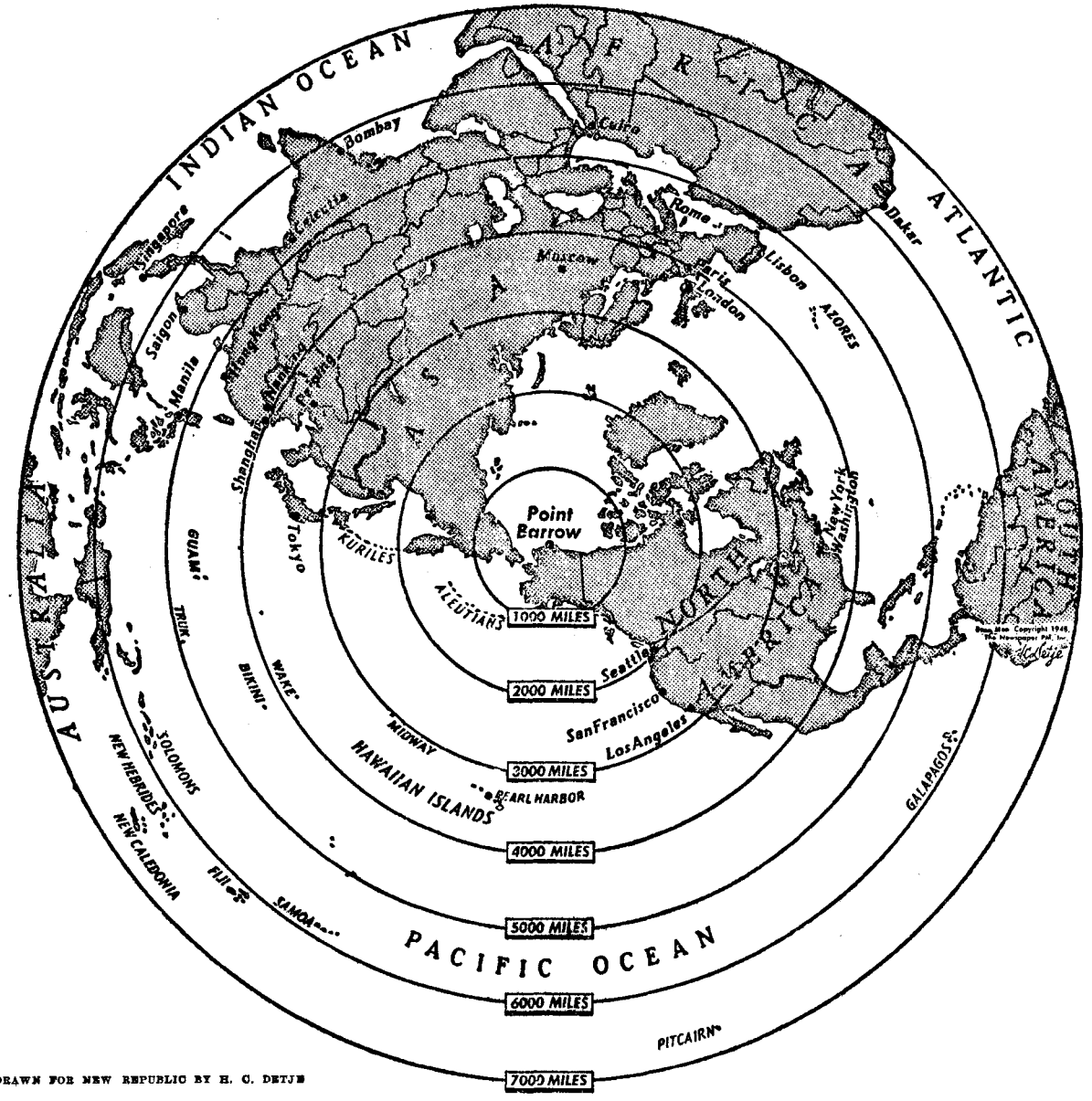
security must be based on air power." This unequivocal stand and the staggering size of the appropriation program laid out by the commissioners were based on several assumptions. One was that Russia is our sworn enemy. Also that Russia, like the US, is bending effort toward the manufacture of atomic bombs. And that, in the words Air Secretary W. Stuart Symington used to the commission, "we may have passed M-Day [Mobilization Day]" and now be heading straight for D-Day.

Upon these assumptions the Air Force has built a strategy for fighting Russia that differs in many respects from the general one used against Germany. New factors are the existence of the atom bomb and the great distance which Russia lies from the continental US.

Taking cognizance of the atom bomb, the Air Force now places greatest reliance on small numbers of heavy bombers to carry a load far greater in destructive power but much less in weight than the tonnages poured on German cities. And because of Russia's geographic position, emphasis also shifts to long-range bombers on the chilling theory that perhaps the US will have only its own continental territory from which to conduct an offensive against Russia, *i.e.*, the US will have been pushed out of Europe and perhaps Asia too.

Ever since V-J Day the Air Force, most effective propagandist of all government branches, has hammered away at what it calls the "polar concept" of war. In movies for public consumption



MAP DRAWN FOR NEW REPUBLIC BY H. C. DETJE

This azimuthal map, pointedly centered on Point Barrow, Alaska, was the only strategic map included in the Air Policy Commission's report. The report, like the map, reflects current military thinking to the effect that the best way to "peace" is via the polar bombing route to the Soviet Union. To illustrate a Russian offensive, the map would have been centered in Soviet territory showing distances to targets in the US.

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and in countless articles fed to newspaper and magazine writers, the Air Force has shown how Russian planes (identified inescapably by their place of origin) could sweep over the North Pole and bomb industrial cities of the hinterland just as easily as those in coastal regions. Of course, it happens that the Russian air force to date has not specialized in long-range bombers but rather in light-weight, close-support bombers and sturdy fighters. What the American Air Force is really talking about is its own strategy, but described in reverse.

Operation Alaska. The US developed long-range bombers for use from North African and English bases against Germany and perfected them, with even longer ranges, for bombing Japan. Now with B-29's, and the longer-range B-50's soon to be in production, the industrial centers of Russia and Siberia would be within range of American air power based, say, in Alaska, where considerable airbase development has taken place. Lest anyone miss the point, the Air Policy Commission conveniently included in its report a map of the world centered at Point Barrow, Alaska, showing air distances to various parts of the world.

General Carl Spaatz, chief of staff of the Air Force, told the commission precisely how many and what types of planes the Air Force needs to implement this strategy. The Spaatz Plan, later given blanket approval by the commission, calls for 70 Groups instead of the current 55. These would contain 6,869 planes, backed up by a reserve of 8,100, plus 3,212 planes in National Guard air groups and 2,360 for training reserve pilots—a grand total of 20,541 planes. (This does not include approximately 11,000 planes required for the Navy air arm.) To achieve this figure, Spaatz asked appropriations for 3,200 new planes annually to sustain losses until manufacturing could be brought to wartime levels. These 70 Groups are to include 21 composed of 30 heavy bombers each. At strategic bases around the world the heavies would always be ready to strike at Russia.

The logic behind this massive war plan differs from the de Seversky theory of "Victory Through Airpower" as practised in World War II. In that conflict two methods of smashing German production and capacity to wage war were tried—British area-bombing and American precision techniques. Both achieved some notable successes, but Germany was still far from defeat when the ground forces landed in Normandy. Now the existence of mass-destruction weapons —atomic bombs—changes the strategic picture.

"An enemy can inflict enormous damage with mass-destruction weapons even if he does not have air superiority," the commission reported. Such damage might be so great that a nation's power to resist would be broken, through loss of manpower, factory destruction and industrial disruption. In World War II that was the aim of the Allied bombers, but they lacked the terrible weapons necessary for such damage even though they were able to get through at will to their targets. Now, with the unleashing of atomic energy, man may have the means of striking a paralyzing blow by air. That is the assumption of the advocates of air power. The evidence of Hiroshima, if repeated simultaneously in perhaps 100 military-industrial centers, points to their correctness. Interceptor aircraft are about the only defense known, so the majority of the projected air force would be fighters, with research concentrated on supersonic planes.

How soon? Just how long a time remains for the US to perfect an anti-atomic air force is a subject on which the experts disagree. Estimates vary from 1950 to 1965. The commission, for reasons best known to itself, arbitrarily chose January 1, 1953, as the date on which the US must assume that the Russians would have atom bombs and therefore the date by which American defenses and counter-offensive power must be perfected. The commission, not adverse to making headlines, designated that date as A-Day. And then it turned to the industrial means of achieving air security.

DRAWINGS BY AMEN

The 71 aircraft-industry witnesses who paraded across the stand were unanimous in bewailing the postwar, or maybe it should now be called prewar, state of aircraft manufacturing. The 15 major companies operated at a net loss of $13 million in 1946 after application of tax-refund credits of $72 million. Working capital decreased $83 million. Employment dropped from 1,708,000 in 1944 to 200,000 in 1946. The situation was equally bad in 1947, though final figures are not yet available.

Planning needed. Industry blamed the uncertainty of government buying, pleaded for long-range procurement programs that would enable manufacturers to plan production far into the future, particularly because of the long gap necessary between design and final production of a new plane. Obviously the maintenance of an up-to-date air force must be geared closely with manufacturing. The commission was so sympathetic toward industry's plight that it made strong recommendations for long-range procurement and an immediate buying program that would be a terrific shot-in-the-arm for the aircraft industry. One of the commission's most significant actions was a qualified recommendation for repeal of the Vinson-Trammel Act of 1934, which puts a 12-percent profit limit on government aircraft contracts.

Taken together, these measures certainly would make the industry an extremely profitable one. Curiously

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enough, the commissioners presented in their report eloquent evidence to support another, braver solution of the problem—national ownership of the aircraft industry.

"Whether we like it or not," the commissioners observed, "the health of the aircraft industry, for the next few years at least, is dependent largely upon financial support from government." Which was an understatement, since government is the purchaser of from 80 to 90 percent of the aircraft industry's entire output.

Nationalization. Without perhaps intending to, the commission presented numerous reasons why the traditional arguments against national ownership do not apply to the situation of the aircraft industry.

Free competition does not now exist among plane manufacturers, and the commission believes that "it would be dangerous to rely only on the operation" of ordinary laws of economics. "Demand fluctuates too violently from war to peace. . . . If a reasonable degree of expandibility is to be maintained for periods of emergency, it is necessary to exercise some industry-wide controls. . . . It has long been the practice for the procurement agencies of the Army and Navy to keep alive at least two separate producers of each type of aircraft, as well as two or more sources for each of the major components. . . ."

In other words, what competition still exists within the industry is largely artificial as far as manufacturing goes. The most real competition, experts say, exists in the field of design rather than production, competition to figure out the machine with the highest performance in as many categories as possible—such as forward speed, maneuverability, load-carrying, cruising range, firepower, etc.

And here the matter of the incentive is important. The real incentive to aircraft designers and engineers is the desire to conceive and execute the best possible aircraft, not to make the most money. The money incentive is operative principally among the managers and financiers of the industry.

Implicit in the commission's report was evidence that neither of the old anti-nationalization bugaboos, the need for industrial competition and for personal incentive, pertain to the aircraft industry in its present state. The commission, on the other hand, slighted the amount of public interest which does pertain when billions of dollars of public funds, if the commission's recommendations are followed, are to be poured into an industry which insists that its profits must be increased, or at least maintained.

Government in business. The report demonstrated how deeply the aircraft industry and the military services are interlocked. Government approval or disapproval determines both type and quantity of the industry's output. Military advisers and engineers are present in all factories operating on government contracts. Government research is coördinated with that of industry or is farmed out on a contract basis to private firms. The step to nationalization would be shorter in aircraft than in any other American industry.

Aside from the enormous savings possible, public ownership incidentally would prevent such scandals as the General Bennett E. Meyers affair, since procurement officers no longer would be in a position to do favors for themselves or their friends.

The commission indicated a considerable interest in savings to the national budget, and at the same time underscored the real reasons why the "intent" of Army-Navy unification has not yet been achieved. Mossbacks of the Army, Navy and Air Force, loyal first to the services in which they grew up, have blocked true consolidation.

"All this is understandable," the commission said, " . . . but we can no longer afford the waste it involves. Hope rests only on the ability of the Secretary of Defense under the President to discharge effectively the authority vested in him with one objective in mind—the maximum in security for the minimum cost. It is imperative that this be done."

Recommended savings. As a starter the commission asked for merger of the Army and Navy air-transport services which now fly thousands of duplicating miles. Similar savings could be made, the commission found, by unification in numerous other categories.

The commission carefully skirted one explosive issue.

"We make no recommendation," it said, "for change in the appropriations for the Army and surface Navy." To have done so would have brought down on its head the concentrated wrath of both services, but the commission made a logical case for such reductions.

"The new strategy of the Navy is air power. The carrier has become the major ship—the battleship now is of only secondary importance," said the commissioners. Since V-J Day, the American Navy has been in the unique position of controlling both the Pacific and Atlantic, with no foreign navy-in-being to challenge it. Nor is there likelihood of any other power building such a fleet within the next decade, the commission decided.

On naval appropriations, Congress could make substantial savings if it follows the commission's recommendation of placing major reliance on air power for American defense. And perhaps savings, too, on Army ground-force funds, though the commission was less explicit on that subject.

In one respect the Finletter commission fulfilled President Truman's wishes. They gave him the basis for recommendations which would give the US a new military strategy. Acceptance of the air-power thesis would

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raise the question of whether Universal Military Training, with its emphasis on masses of highly trained troops, still has any strategic validity. The expenses of *both* UMT and the air program would be so great that even a nation accustomed to spending 80 percent of its budget for war could not be expected to shoulder the cost without a murmur.

Though the report showed how minor savings might be made, it asks such large air appropriations that the problem of the military-budget load is, in the final analysis, only multiplied.

Perhaps that is natural, since the commission's approach was principally military and hardly anyone is foolish enough to think that a military approach will solve the grave problems of the world.

EDITORIAL

Billions for Aggressive War

EIGHTY CENTS in every American dollar collected in taxation is to pay for war or to prepare for war. And rearmament is just beginning.

The first long step toward rearmament was the report of the President's Commission on Universal Military Training; the next is the report of the Air Policy Commission, which reaches two conclusions:

¶ True security requires the abolition of war.

¶ Until war is abolished, rearmament is necessary.

The commission is silent on a third truth:

¶ Rearmament always leads to war.

"This country," the report asserts, "if it is to have even relative security, must be ready for war." The Romans phrased the sentence a little better. Through twenty centuries uniforms change; weapons improve; the thought remains unaltered; the end, by sword or bomb, is still the same.

Neville Chamberlain, in the years in which he undermined the League of Nations, never ceased to speak of his actions as steps taken to strengthen the League. Today, the Soviet government speaks of its immense armies as implementing its support of the Charter. And the Commission on UMT declares that "a strong and resolute America is the best guarantee for . . . the success of the United Nations."

The report of the Air Policy Commission, guided by Thomas K. Finletter, is not so sentimental.

"We will not be rid of war," it asserts, "until the nations arrive at the great agreement to live together in peace, and to this end give to the United Nations organization the legal and physical powers under a regime of law to keep the peace. . . . Such an agreement would need a unanimity of peaceful purpose among the great powers which does not exist. It also would require a willingness on their part to . . . put their faith in a system of law rather than in . . . their own national armaments; and this apparently they are not yet ready to do. . . . For these reasons the United States must have a double-barreled policy abroad. It must work to achieve world peace through support and development of the United Nations. At the same time it must prepare to defend itself for the possibility that war may come. . . ."

This double-barreled policy, the report continues, "will compel us to maintain a force in being in peacetime greater than any self-governing people has ever kept." And: "We will have to reverse all our notions of our sovereign independence, and, equally difficult, persuade others to do likewise. . . ." If, at the same time, we fail to go all out on both policies, then, the report concludes, war is inevitable and we shall be unprepared.

We are about to go all out for rearmament. We are making no effort to go all out for world peace. So by this definition, given our present government and Congress, and our present state of mind, war is inevitable.

But even with a liberal administration and Congress, and a nation free from fear, could the UN be strengthened during years in which an arms race is taking place?

For the Air report very clearly foresees an arms race. "A second-best air force, when war takes place," it asserts, "is almost as bad as none." This ancient cliché, if it has any truth, is as true for the Russians, the British, the French, the Chinese and other nations as it is for Americans.

Some weapons are defensive and may not interrupt the search for peace. Even our battleships may push their way around our shores without disturbing other peoples. But for all the phrases about "defense" in the Air Policy report, the air force proposed is entirely offensive, designed to strike anywhere in the world.

Designed, that is, to strike at Russia.

The report obviously looks on Russia as the enemy. The Commission on UMT wanted to confront the massed Soviet armies with equal American armies. The Air Policy Commission proposes that we be strongest where the Russians are weakest—in the air. Since the

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Russians are weak in the air, we need plan now only to double our air force within three years. But if our rearmament causes the Soviet government to take counter steps in building its air force, then we shall soon be "second-best" again and all our efforts will have to be redoubled.

Is Soviet rearmament only possible, or is it certain? If the Soviet state consists of a tiny group of fanatics, struggling to keep a failing grip on a starving and rebellious people, then it will be incapable of matching the effort that our democracy is willing to make. This is broadly the State Department's point of view. Its presiding strategist, George F. Kennan, insists that there can be no active peace policy because "there can be no appeal to common purposes" or "common mental approaches" between the US and the USSR. However, the "Soviet power is only a crust." Given sufficient pressure by America to increase the strains upon Russia, the Communist Party will divide; "chaos and weakness . . . would be revealed in forms beyond description," leaving "one of the weakest and most pitiable of national societies." Then a well armed America can fire off the other barrel of its double-barreled policy. When the smoke clears away, we shall have a strong UN and world peace.

The doctrine is not always logical. If the Russians are about to collapse, how can they be planning world conquest? If they are not planning world conquest, why are great armaments needed? Whatever the answers may be, these are the beliefs held by those who look upon rearmament as a means of avoiding war.

But supposing Kennan is wrong, as almost the entire government was wrong about Russia's strength in 1941? Then the arms race will be on. The Air Policy Commission foresees this development, and proposes that our armaments program be completely reviewed every two years.

This arms race, if it comes, will destroy the United Nations.

The present UN is based on the theory of collective security. Collective security is a means of *discouraging* aggression by any nation by providing that when aggression takes place, the armed forces of all UN members are placed at the disposal of the Security Council. Obviously, to be effective, collective security requires that the armaments of all of its members greatly exceed those of any one nation. The present UN is almost powerless because great armaments are concentrated in two nations, America and Russia. It cannot bring overwhelming strength against either one, and its power will diminish as each rearms.

A UN capable of *preventing* aggression, which the Air Policy Commission says is our one real chance of peace, means a UN with a monopoly of armaments in its own armed force. This UN requires universal disarmament of nations. An arms race is not the path to universal disarmament.

Once rearmament is under way, the hopes for disarmament are over. Disarmament requires confidence and good will. In a nation without adequate housing, health, education or food, there is only one method of appropriating the billions needed for "a force in peacetime greater than any self-governing people has ever kept." That is by whipping up hysteria, fear, hatred and the belief that we face a powerful and implacable enemy which we must prepare to fight. The State Department insists that Molotov's diatribes against America are dictated by the necessity of justifying rearmament to the Soviet people. The point is correct, and is equally true when justification for rearmament is sought for America.

But the preparation for modern war that the Air Policy Commission calls for, means far more than armaments. It means the extension of military control over our government, our schools, our industries, our unions, our political life, our press, our homes. This process, brilliantly analyzed in a recent report—"The Militarization of America," issued by a committee that includes Albert Einstein, Anton J. Carlson and Ray Lyman Wilbur—has gone far without rearmament. It is hard to believe that, as war preparation gathers force, we can actively search for peace.

The UN and all its members are committed to work for disarmament. Nothing has been done. The USSR insists that disarmament begins with the destruction of our atom bombs. The American delegation answers that we will disarm only when a world security system has been established. Meanwhile we have stopped searching for a world security system. For agreement on world security requires agreement on world welfare, world law and world action against fascism, which still threatens our security. Kennan says that between America and Russia agreement is impossible. And Kennan's counterparts in Moscow, for once, agree.

The will to agree still comes first. Even if our government possessed it, rearmament might be necessary; the Soviet government shows no more friendliness toward Britain's Labor Government than to our own. But at least rearmament would be subordinate to a peace policy instead of dominating all our efforts. Since arms are a tool of government, our problem is not to destroy arms but to create a government which believes in the possibility of peace in a world in which capitalism and communism live side by side. MICHAEL STRAIGHT

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DEATH IN THE AIR

It won't be safe even to breathe if the radioactive vapor and disease germs now available are turned loose in war

by Bruce Bliven

CONVERSATION across the table at the dinner party had slowed to a crawl, and the bright-eyed young man in the double-breasted dinner jacket saw his opportunity. He leaned forward and spoke loudly.

"Do you know what the scientists have cooked up for us?" he demanded of no one in particular, and then hurried on. "They have an atom bomb now that is big enough to destroy half the country. They could even set off the hydrogen in the atmosphere and blow up the whole world. They have disease germs so poisonous that a bottle of them the size of your finger could kill everybody on earth.

"And rockets! They can send a rocket halfway around the world, with an atom bomb or a bottle of disease germs, and kill everybody!" He looked around owlishly, pleased at the sensation he had created.

The bright young man was wrong as to nearly all his facts. He was right, however, in his implication of the almost unbelievable mass destructiveness now available to man. The new weapons with which civilization as we know it may tragically destroy itself fall into three chief categories: the atomic bomb, radioactive vapor, and disease germs and poisons.

The Bomb

The increase in strength of the newer atomic bombs has not changed the pattern of most effective use. The bomb's chief functions remain: to destroy industrial, military and communications concentrations; to kill and injure large numbers of civilians in cities; and to break the morale, and therefore the will to resist, of those who remain alive.

Lieutenant Colonel David B. Parker, US Army, assigned to the atomic-bomb section of the War Department, is one of several to suggest that for maximum damage, an atomic bomb should be exploded beneath the surface of a good-sized body of water near the point where the destruction is to be accomplished. A bomb detonated in this way throws up into the air many thousands of tons of highly radioactive mist, which will move down wind at varying speeds and will travel a number of miles before becoming dispersed. All but the thinnest outer edge of such a cloud would kill all animals and human beings exposed to it. Death would be a matter of hours, days or weeks, depending upon the concentration of lethal rays.

Such use of an atomic bomb would leave all buildings and other structures in its path unimpaired. They would, however, be so heavily impregnated with deadly radioactivity that they could not be occupied or used in any way for a long period of time. Dr. Stafford L. Warren, dean of the Medical School of the University of California at Los Angeles, who was in charge of protecting personnel of the Manhattan District against the effects of radiation, points out that some of the ships which were in the path of the vapor from the second bomb at Bikini are still seriously radioactive.

If there were no body of water available near a military target, the bomb could, of course, be exploded in the air above the target, as was done with the two dropped on Japanese cities.

Atomic bombs can be brought to a target area in various ways. They can be dropped from piloted airplanes or enclosed in rocket missiles of several types. They can also be smuggled into the country of an enemy or a potential enemy. An atomic bomb, including all its parts, is small enough to be carried in an automobile or light truck; almost any number of them could be brought into any country disguised as merchandise, or brought across a border at a remote point.

Major General Leslie R. Groves, who was the Army's liaison man with the atomic scientists, has pointed out that it would be easy to disassemble a bomb, or a number of them, for this purpose. They could then be reassembled by spies at convenient points and equipped with time fuses set to go off after the spies had left the area. Even one bomb thus exploded by surprise in the heart of an important city could cripple its industrial and military activities or bring them to an end.

As a matter of military prudence, all leading countries may in the future deposit atomic bombs at secret points in the chief cities of all other important countries, whether at the moment friendly or hostile. They could be set off speedily in the event that reprisals were deemed necessary, or the fact that they had been planted could be disclosed and used as a threat.

All military authorities are agreed that the invention of atomic weapons has seriously weakened the military position of the United States and of the other chief industrialized powers of the world. Until the development of these weapons, the military strength of each country was closely proportioned to its industrial equipment. Since, however, a limited and definite number of atomic weapons, used for a surprise attack, can greatly damage or destroy the industrial resources of any enemy, no matter how large or powerful, all countries capable of producing this quantity of atomic weapons have been reduced to theoretical equality with one another.

While there are serious difficulties in the way of producing such weapons, especially if a country has to improvise the techniques afresh, they are not insuperable, given the will.

Radioactive Vapor

Many experts believe that the atomic bomb is now technically obsolete, having been supplanted by radioactive vapor. This vapor can accomplish many of the destructive effects of an

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atomic bomb, and has advantages of its own. It can be readily manufactured as a by-product of any chain-reaction pile, at negligible expense. It does not need the elaborate and costly trigger mechanism of the bomb; it could be concentrated in a small cylinder and released by contact when dropped from a height, or opened with a small explosive charge, perhaps set off with a time fuse.

Radioactive vapor could also be distributed over a target area directly from an airplane, as insecticides are now dusted over cotton fields. Glenn L. Martin, the airplane manufacturer, who worked on this project for the government, is authority for the statement that one shell containing radioactive vapor would destroy all life in an area of about one square mile. The effects would be the same as in the case of an atomic bomb exploded under water.

Biological Warfare

Military weapons of great significance are disease germs, poisons extracted from disease germs, or plant hormones. The United States and other countries have been working seriously on the possibilities of such weapons for a number of years. Japan used bubonic plague against the Chinese on November 4, 1941, in the Chinese town of Changteh, dropping infective agents from an airplane. Six people died of plague and there have been sporadic outbreaks since then. The Chinese managed, however, to keep the disease under control.

Many people believe that the use of biological weapons is "Sunday-supplement scare stuff" and not to be taken seriously; but this view is not shared by the experts who have been responsible for preparing the plans for possible warfare of this type. Such weapons must be employed with skill and care; but when this is done, they can be extremely damaging against any country, including those enjoying the advantages of a high level of public-health measures and sanitary precautions.

To be an effective military agent a disease must meet these qualifications:

¶ It must not be a type against which the enemy population has been immunized by vaccination or other means.

¶ It must be controllable, in the sense that it will not extend from the enemy population to your own.

¶ It must be readily transmitted by air, water, or such carriers as rodents or insects.

¶ It should, if possible, have a rather short period of incubation.

Two men who worked on biological weapons for the US Government—Theodor Rosebury and Elvin A. Kabat of the College of Physicians and Surgeons of Columbia University—reported in a recent issue of the *Journal of Immunology* on experiments done during the early stages of the Second World War in this field, omitting matters still confidential. Of 70 diseases studied, 33 were considered potentially adaptable to war.

Some of these are diseases which kill a high proportion of those exposed to them. In other cases the mortality rate is low, but the victim is completely prostrated for a period of several weeks or months.

A few examples of the diseases which might be used will serve to illustrate the general field.

¶ Psittacosis (parrot fever) is potentially among the most deadly. About 20 percent of the victims die, and the remainder are severely ill for long periods of time. Immunization technique is in its infancy. The disease is disseminated by contact, but almost certainly by air as well. Diagnosis is very difficult. Penicillin and sulfadiazine have been effective in light cases, but experimentation with such cures is still far from conclusive.

¶ Two of the five types of botulism, a bacterial poison which is found in contaminated food, are suitable to germ warfare. The poison is so strong that people are killed by swallowing a minute amount of a liquid containing a very weak solution; in fact a few pounds, *properly distributed,* could

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kill the entire population of the earth. In potency, it is 10,000 times as effective as potassium cyanide. From one-sixth to four-fifths of the victims are killed, and those who recover are ill for two to four months.

¶ Tularemia, glanders, an Oriental disease called melioidosis, anthrax, undulant fever, pneumonic plague, and yellow fever (which can be transmitted without the use of mosquitoes) also belong on the list.

The deadly potentialities of biological warfare are emphasized by the fact that it is possible, theoretically at least, to breed successive generations of germs in the laboratory so that their virulence is much increased. Such increased virulence would greatly hamper the efforts of an enemy to treat the disease or to immunize against it.

The distribution of bacteriological "weapons" varies with their type. Airborne diseases could be mixed with gas or vapors in small bombs and dropped from airplanes or guided missiles, or smuggled into a country, or manufactured within its boundaries by enemy agents. Such bombs, when dropped, could be set off by contact, by a small explosive charge, by a time fuse, or by a combination of the second and third of these.

Since most types of airborne disease germs are more effective indoors than in the open air, efforts would be made to introduce them into buildings. The greatest destruction would be caused if they could be "planted" in factories, churches, theaters, etc., with a time fuse. If this were impossible, the germs could be dropped from airplanes, or set off by a small explosive charge, just outside a building so that the contents would enter through open windows and crevices.

In some cases, mustard gas added to the vapor would increase the destruction by causing skin lesions, through which germs would enter the blood stream of the victim. A particularly serious result might be achieved by mixing influenza or measles virus, or both, with staphylococci or streptococci to induce severe secondary bronchial pneumonia.

The most damaging use of water-borne diseases would of course be to introduce them into the drinking-water reservoirs of large cities, either by dropping them, in soluble containers, from airplanes, or through the use of spies.

Diseases carried by such "vectors" as insects or rodents could be set going in various ways. Infected vectors could be smuggled into the country and released, or animals or insects could be infected with the germs inside a country and then set free under favorable conditions.

An "advantage" of disease germs, from the military point of view, is that very large quantities of most of them can be produced readily and at minimum cost. Any distillery now engaged in making alcoholic liquors could be easily converted to the production of disease germs.

Plant hormones to destroy many types of vegetation are an auxiliary but important weapon. If the Second World War had not ended when it did, efforts would have been made to destroy the Japanese cereal crops on the home islands by such hormones, dropped from American airplanes. These hormones stimulate excessive, abnormal growth of certain parts of the organism, causing the plant to "choke itself to death."

Finally, an airborne chemical poison has been developed which is so incredibly deadly that it makes all other means of mass slaying seem like toys. This poison is without an antidote so far as is now known. It is not the exclusive property of any one country. Distribution to an enemy population could be accomplished in various ways, and particularly by airplane.

"Old-fashioned" Weapons

The techniques of transporting the new weapons to enemy populations and of defending against them are, in most cases, both related to less unconventional armaments. It is therefore necessary to become familiar with the chief recent developments in what

DRAWINGS BY ELIZABETH OLDS

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must now be called "old-fashioned" war.

These developments are centered around greater accuracy in firing weapons, with resulting increased destructiveness.

Guns of all types, whether mounted on stationary or moving platforms, are now aimed and fired electronically, with much higher effectiveness.

Through several devices, chiefly radar, darkness no longer interferes with the use of weapons.

Accuracy has been further enhanced by the proximity fuse. Through the use of what is essentially a small radio sending and receiving set, in the nose of a shell, radio waves are sent out from the shell in flight and bounced off the target. The shell can therefore be made to explode at the desired distance from the target, to achieve maximum destruction.

Work is also being done on "heat-seeking" devices which actuate movable vanes on a bomb. These devices are highly sensitive to minute differences in the heat over a ship at sea, or a factory or powerhouse on land, as compared with the cooler surrounding area.

The US Navy is developing a pilotless aircraft which broadcasts radar signals to the target and is guided toward it by the echoes which it receives. The Navy is also working on a jet-propelled bomb which, through similar devices, can twist and turn to follow an enemy airplane which is taking evasive action.

Television scanning units have been installed in the noses of radio-controlled flying missiles. A viewing screen is placed in the airplane or ship from which the missile is launched; the operator watches the screen and guides the missile by radio, directly to the target.

Steady development is being made in long-distance rockets and shells, including those based on the German V-I and V-II. Some of these missiles are radio-controlled.

Both the speed and range of piloted military airplanes are steadily increasing. Jet-propelled planes now travel at practically the speed of sound. While maximum aircraft ranges are still a secret, they are believed to be substantially more than 10,000 miles for a round trip.

Protective Measures

Protective measures to minimize the effectiveness of the three categories of new weapons I have described—atomic bombs, radioactive vapor, and disease germs and poisons—are extremely difficult. With the new types of interception, a very large proportion of enemy airplanes or missiles carrying atomic bombs, radioactive vapor, or media for biological warfare might be shot down, if you assume a continuous ring of anti-aircraft batteries around the borders of the country to be defended. There is no reason to believe, however, that any such defensive fire would be 100-percent effective. In view of the deadly character of the new weapons, even a small number which reached their targets could be extremely destructive.

The same thing is true in a greater degree of the new weapons when smuggled into a country. It is doubtful whether any government in the world is sufficiently vigilant and efficient to prevent such smuggling, or to find all or most of the enemy material after it has been hidden.

Acknowledging that some of the new weapons are bound to reach any enemy, a distinction must be made between atomic bombs and radioactive vapor on the one hand, and bacteriological agents on the other. In so far as the first two are concerned, Major General Harold R. Bull, chairman of a special high-level Army board which has been working on defensive weapons, believes that the most effective measures require enormous changes in our civilization, and great expense. Such alterations are so extensive that there seems little possibility of putting them into effect.

The explosive power of atomic bombs of the present type is so great that bomb-proof shelters would have to be sunk deep in the earth and of almost impossibly heavy construction. They would need to be airtight, and persons taking refuge in them could not safely come out until weeks or even months after the last bomb had exploded over their heads.

Such shelters would of course be valuable only to persons who were already in them before the bomb went off. Unless we are prepared to carry on all the daily activities of life constantly in such shelters, they would be of no help whatsoever in case of a surprise attack.

All factories manufacturing essential military or civilian goods would need to be similarly sunk far below the earth's surface or in lateral shafts running deep into mountains. To protect the civilian population as a whole would require either the building of completely decentralized cities, their inhabitants being spread over a large area, or the construction of a tremendous series of bomb shelters of the type already mentioned. Either of these operations seems almost beyond the power of most civilized societies.

Dr. Ralph E. Lapp, who has studied this question for the Research and Development Division of the US Army General Staff, shares the view that such decentralization is hopeless. "The world is no longer on the gold standard; it is actually on a plutonium standard," he adds.

Meanwhile, those who are planning against atomic attack are also working along the following additional lines:

¶ Specially trained army units to be set up and maintained continuously at many points throughout the country. These units to take over control in case of necessity, with sweeping powers to move the entire population out of any area if deemed necessary.

¶ Large numbers of first-aid units, specially trained in the limited amount of help that can be given to those exposed to radiation, to be established at numerous points. These groups would be taught to ignore the severe cases for whom nothing can be done and to concentrate their efforts on those lightly exposed.

¶ All local or state laws restricting the field of activity of fire-fighting apparatus to be repealed. Fire fighters must be trained to keep out of areas

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with heavy radioactivity, and to remain only briefly in those where it is light.

¶ Very large and numerous blood banks to be set up all over the country for transfusions to be given persons lightly affected with radioactivity, in order to avoid leukemia.

In addition, it has recently been discovered that in the case of laboratory animals, mortality from radiation is reduced if these animals have first been given repeated doses of the drug, rutin, which strengthens the walls of the small blood vessels. But it is difficult to imagine the whole population of a country, or of all countries, dosing themselves continually with rutin in expectation of atomic attack, even if it were sure that the rutin itself would not have adverse effects. In any case, such treatment would only reduce somewhat the lethal results.

Protection against biological warfare is as difficult as protection against radioactivity, or more so. Different types of measures are required to protect against attacks with different agents.

Against diseases carried by air or vectors there is no effective protection except general and continuous vigilance on the part of military and public-health authorities. Any outbreak of a disease should be met promptly with all possible measures.

Waterborne diseases have specific problems of their own. Chlorination and filtering are not enough, because some disease germs would survive such treatment. It would be necessary to set up on the shore of every important city water reservoir throughout the country an experimental laboratory with many thousands of each of several types of laboratory animals and birds, since some of these are immune to diseases which are fatal to man. At intervals of a few hours, day and night, the year 'round, it would be necessary to make tests against each of a long series of diseases. Even this procedure would not be wholly effective; a number of diseases have an incubation period of days or weeks, and a large proportion of the inhabitants of a city might be infected before the agent had been identified.

It would of course be desirable that the entire population of any country fearing attack should be vaccinated, as often as necessary, against all the diseases for which such protection is now possible. This would still, however, leave open the possibility of attack with a disease against which no immunization is known, or of newly developed diseases produced secretly in the laboratories of an enemy.

The Future Picture

What is the chance that these new weapons, or any of them, would be used in another war? It is at least theoretically possible that all countries would refrain from such practices, because of the fear of reprisals by one enemy, or joint action by all other nations. The experience with poison gas, which was not used in the Second World War, is sometimes cited but is a doubtful precedent. These gases are very difficult to handle on the battlefield and are not very effective even in the aerial bombardment of cities.

However, the new weapons are so effective that there would be a powerful temptation to use them in a surprise attack, on the ground that an immediate victory would thereby be guaranteed.

Even if two powers were engaged in a war which in the beginning had been confined to "old-fashioned" weapons, one or both might resort to the new techniques at a later date, either in desperation because of approaching defeat, or because of war weariness and the desire to end the conflict with a knockout blow. Modern war, waged with old-fashioned weapons, is almost unendurably expensive; the cost of any of the new devices described above is negligible in terms of the damage done. This is especially true of radioactive vapor or biological warfare.

Many experts believe that if the new weapons are used, the entire concept of combat may be completely changed. War nowadays is being fought increasingly for ideological reasons; economically, any struggle today is a disaster to all the powers engaged, to the victor hardly less than to the vanquished. The notion that it is necessary to invade and conquer the enemy is partly the result of a cultural lag, going back to times when such occupation was necessary in order to get physical possession of large amounts of war booty and to break the enemy's will to resist.

But to a highly industrialized society, war booty is hardly worth having; it can be duplicated at home for less effort than the trouble of dismantling, shipping and reassembling. With the new weapons, the power of the enemy to attack can be destroyed, perhaps in a few hours, for a period which might be decades, if not generations.

Quite possibly, therefore, war may now enter a new and even uglier phase in which *all* attack is directed against the civilian population of the enemy, the purpose being to bring about a complete paralysis of his civilization. Invasion would be eliminated; military forces would be confined to the small number of technicians required to prepare the new type of weapons and transport them, in various ways, to the chief cities of the enemy.

In such a case, it is unlikely that both of the powers between which tension had mounted to a dangerous degree would launch surprise attacks simultaneously. The situation would be one, therefore, in which one or the other of the potential enemies decided upon an immediate assault and would, in all human probability, be victorious.

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American Movers and Shakers: No. 3 *Lost among histories of men with whiter skins but lesser abilities is the memory of the Negro who became a mathematician, almanacker, public official and associate of Jefferson:*

BENJAMIN BANNEKER: Unschooled Wizard

by Saul K. Padover

ONE OF the uncommon Americans of the eighteenth century is a man so neglected today that the *Dictionary of American Biography,* which lists the great and the not-so-great of the past, does not bother to include him. Yet he is a far worthier and more interesting figure than many of the second-rate politicians who clutter the pages of official biography. Many of the Founding Fathers knew and respected his work. Jefferson admired him and helped to make his reputation. Washington's Administration appointed him to a federal post. The name of this man, a fine scientist and mathematician, is Benjamin Banneker. He was a Negro.

Banneker's life is an American story, and his origins fit the pattern. Though he himself was born free, his father had been a slave; his grandfather was an African prince and his grandmother an English maidservant.

Sometime around 1692 a white woman, Mollie Welsh (or Welch), bought a slave named Bannaky, a dignified and intelligent man of royal African descent and of "very agreeable presence." Mollie herself had been, in effect, a white slave. An English farm maid, she had been accused of stealing a pail of milk and sentenced to be shipped to America. Unable to pay her passage, she was indentured to a Maryland tobacco planter for seven years. When her time was up, she had managed to save enough money to buy a small plantation and two slaves, one of whom was Bannaky.

The blond Mollie—"a person of exceedingly fair complexion and moderate mental powers"—was attracted to her handsome slave, gave him his liberty and soon thereafter married him. They had four children, one of whom, Mary, also married an African slave after giving him his freedom and her family's surname, then Anglicized to Banneker (also spelled Bannaker). Benjamin was a child of this union.

Grandmother's favorite. Benjamin Banneker was raised on his parents' 120-acre farm (bought for 17,000 pounds of tobacco) at Ellicott's Mill, near Baltimore. He was the favorite grandchild of Mollie, who, moved by the boy's intelligence and eagerness for books, taught him all she knew, mostly stories from the Bible and religious exercises. She encouraged Benjamin to attend a small neighboring school, where he learned to read and write. That was the extent of his formal schooling. Despite his obvious mental gifts, further education was out of the question for him, even though he was a freeman. There was, in fact, little difference in the treatment accorded colored people, regardless of status. Moreau de St. Méry, a Frenchman who toured the United States in the administration of President Washington, was shocked by the widespread misery and unhappiness of the Negro population. "Free men of color," he wrote in his *American Journey,* "are no better treated than the slaves, except for the fact that no one is allowed to beat them."

Benjamin Banneker had better luck than most. He was not only comparatively well-to-do, but he was also fortunate in his near neighbors. From his father he inherited 72 acres, which he operated as a prosperous farm, growing fruit and raising cattle and bees. But his greatest blessing was the Ellicotts. This was a family of cultured Quakers whose characters were free of the vulgarity of race prejudice and whose minds were open to the liberal and scientific ideas of the day. The brothers Ellicott—Andrew, Benjamin and George, the first two of whom later became the surveyors of the District of Columbia and helped to lay out the city of Washington—befriended their neighbor Banneker in every possible way.

The Ellicotts liked the way Banneker ran his farm and they liked his quiet dignity, his gentle manners and his air of philosophical serenity. But what impressed them most was his intellectual curiosity and scientific bent. Untaught, and possessing virtually no books, Banneker showed himself to be an accurate observer of natural phenomena and a brilliant mathematician. Heaven only knows what he would have turned out to be had he been trained. The Ellicotts, who settled near Banneker's farm when the latter was in his forties', did what they could to encourage his scientific interests. They lent him a few precious books—Mayer's *Tables,* Ferguson's *Astronomy,*

Saul K. Padover, biographer of Jefferson and editor of his writings, is an editorial writer for the New York newspaper PM.

THIS IS THE THIRD of a series of articles on American innovators and insurgents of past generations, designed as a tour of rediscovery and reappraisal of our liberal tradition.

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Leadbetter's *Lunar Tables* — which Banneker absorbed hungrily and with such success that he surprised the Ellicotts by finding flaws and suggesting accurate corrections in some of the astronomical charts.

Local fame. His mathematical reputation soon spread through the countryside and farmers came to him with brain-teasing puzzles as well as practical problems. Banneker himself liked to compose difficult puzzles for his friends. Here is one he wrote in rhyme and submitted to George Ellicott; it has a flavor which age does not stale:

A Cooper and Vintner sat down for a talk,
Both being so groggy that neither could walk,
Says Cooper to Vintner, "I'm the first of my trade,
There's no kind of vessel, but what I have made . . ."
"Then," says the Vintner, "you're the man for me,
Make me a vessel, if we can agree.
The top and the bottom diameter define,
To bear that proportion as fifteen to nine,
Thirty-five inches are just what I crave,
No more and no less, in the depth will I have;
Just thirty-nine gallons this vessel must hold—
Then I will reward you with silver or gold—,
Give me your promise, my honest old friend?"
"I'll make it tomorrow, that you may depend!"
So the next day the Cooper his work to discharge,
Soon made the new vessel, but made it too large;
He took out some staves, which made it too small,
And then cursed the vessel, the Vintner and all.
He beat on his breast, "By the Powers!" —he swore,
He never would work at his trade any more.
Now my worthy friend, find out, if you can,
The vessel's dimensions and comfort the man!"

(Solution: the vessel must be 24.75 inches in the greater diameter and 14.8476 inches in the lesser diameter.)

Banneker's intellectual gifts were matched by his manual skill. With infinite patience and with the use of only a pocket knife, he constructed a wooden clock of unusual precision. It ran for years and was one of the marvels of the neighborhood.

A change seemed to come over him in his late fifties. He was still a bachelor and did his own cooking and farm chores, but more and more he was seen lying on the ground for hours, especially at night, gazing at the sky. Neighbors, who also saw him take drink, shook their heads and said what a pity, such a fine man was going to the dogs in his old age. Actually, however, it was not laziness but astronomy that accounted for his being supine so much of the time. He had developed a passion for the heavenly bodies and devoted himself to observing the stars. In 1789 he accurately calculated the solar eclipse.

Early in 1791 a great honor came to Banneker. The President of the United States, through his Secretary of State, Thomas Jefferson, appointed him to the commission to survey the District of Columbia. This was done at the behest of Major Andrew Ellicott, who, with Major L'Enfant, was a member of the commission. Jefferson was delighted at the choice of Banneker because he had long been unhappy about the moral aspects of slavery. Banneker's appointment, he told a friend, would prove to the world that the lack of higher talents observed in Negroes was "merely the effect of their degraded condition, and not proceeding from any difference in the structure of the parts on which intellect depends." In other words, Banneker was to be a living demonstration that Negroes were inherently capable of the same intellectual exertions as white people. As the first Negro scientist to occupy a professional federal post, Banneker's appointment was thus probably one of the earliest blows struck at the moral foundations of slavery in the United States.

In the news. On March 12, 1791, the Georgetown *Weekly Ledger* announced the arrival of Ellicott and L'Enfant, accompanied by "Benjamin Banneker, an Ethiopian . . . surveyor and astronomer." A Negro scientist *was* news, and Banneker was acutely sensitive to his position. He was aware that not only he but the whole colored race in America was on trial, and he felt that he must be more circumspect and modest than ever. As it turned out, he was treated with great consideration. People stared at the medium-sized black surveyor who wore a broad-brimmed beaver hat and talked like a gentleman, but they soon got accus-

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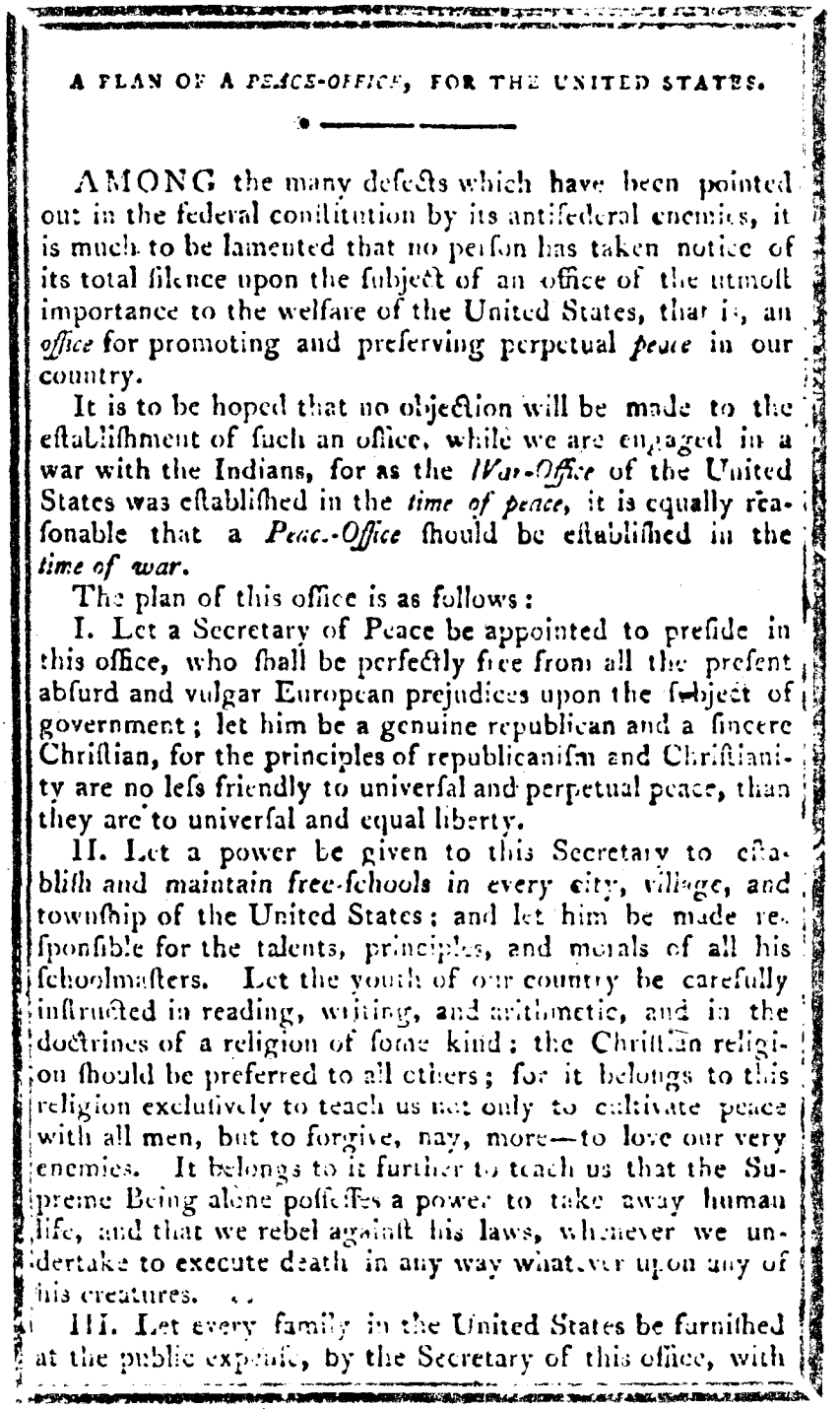

A PLAN OF A *PEACE-OFFICE*, FOR THE UNITED STATES.

AMONG the many defects which have been pointed out in the federal conſtitution by its antifederal enemies, it is much to be lamented that no perſon has taken notice of its total ſilence upon the ſubject of an office of the utmoſt importance to the welfare of the United States, that is, an *office* for promoting and preſerving perpetual *peace* in our country.

It is to be hoped that no objection will be made to the eſtabliſhment of ſuch an office, while we are engaged in a war with the Indians, for as the *War-Office* of the United States was eſtabliſhed in the *time of peace*, it is equally reaſonable that a *Peace-Office* ſhould be eſtabliſhed in the *time of war*.

The plan of this office is as follows:

I. Let a Secretary of Peace be appointed to preſide in this office, who ſhall be perfectly free from all the preſent abſurd and vulgar European prejudices upon the ſubject of government; let him be a genuine republican and a ſincere Chriſtian, for the principles of republicaniſm and Chriſtianity are no leſs friendly to univerſal and perpetual peace, than they are to univerſal and equal liberty.

II. Let a power be given to this Secretary to eſtabliſh and maintain *free-ſchools in* every city, village, and townſhip of the United States; and let him be made reſponſible for the talents, principles, and morals of all his ſchoolmaſters. Let the youth of our country be carefully inſtructed in reading, writing, and arithmetic, and in the doctrines of a religion of ſome kind; the Chriſtian religion ſhould be preferred to all others; for it belongs to this religion excluſively to teach us not only to cultivate peace with all men, but to forgive, nay, more—to love our very enemies. It belongs to it further to teach us that the Supreme Being alone poſſeſſes a power to take away human life, and that we rebel againſt his laws, whenever we undertake to execute death in any way whatever upon any of his creatures. . .

III. Let every family in the United States be furniſhed at the public expenſe, by the Secretary of this office, with

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BANNEKER'S ALMANAC PROPOSES A U. S. "PEACE OFFICE"

tomed to him. His own colleagues, the commissioners and surveyors, treated him with marked respect and courtesy. They invited him to eat at the same table with them, but he firmly declined. They compromised by eating in the same room, at different tables. Everybody agreed with Jefferson's description of him as a "very worthy and respectable member of society"—a comment which, in an age when gentlemen ruled, was no small compliment. Banneker did sit in on conferences with his colleagues and joined them in potations, but not liberally. "I feared to trust myself even with wine," he later told some of his friends—smilingly, "lest it should steal away the little sense I have."

Though self-effacing and tactful, Banneker felt deeply the humiliations suffered by Negroes. In the intervals of his leisure in Georgetown he had, at the instigation of Ellicott, composed an almanac for the year 1792 and sent a copy of it to Thomas Jefferson, known friend of science and of liberty. Accompanying the almanac was a letter which reveals the stored-up bitterness in Banneker's soul. To the author of the Declaration of Independence who had written that all men are created equal, the Negro scientist wrote bitterly:

> We are a race of beings who have long laboured under the abuse and censure of the world. . . . We have long been considered rather as brutish than human, and scarcely capable of mental endowments.
>
> Sir, I hope . . . that you are a man far less inflexible in sentiments of this nature than many others, that you are measurably friendly and well disposed toward us. . . .
>
> Now, Sir . . . I apprehend that your sentiments are concurrent with mine, which are that our universal Father hath given being to us all. . . .
>
> But, Sir, how pitiable it is to reflect that, although you were so fully convinced of the benevolence of the Father of mankind . . . that you should at the same time counteract His mercies in detaining by fraud and violence so numerous a part of my brethren under groaning captivity and cruel oppression.

The letter must have made Jefferson the slave-owner squirm, but Jefferson the democrat was impressed. He sent the almanac to his friend Condorcet, the secretary of the Academy of Sciences in Paris, to prove that color was no bar to brains ("I am happy to inform you that we have now in the United States a Negro . . . who is a very respectable mathematician"), and to Banneker he wrote a letter in which he repeated his conviction that Negroes were not inherently inferior beings.

"Nobody," the Secretary of State insisted, "wishes more than I do to see such proofs as you exhibit, that nature has given to our black brethren, talents equal to those of the other colors of men, and that the appearance of a want of them is owing merely to the degraded condition of their existence, both in Africa and America. I can add

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with truth, that nobody wishes more ardently to see a good system commenced for raising the condition both of their body and mind to what it ought to be." The letter was signed, "With great esteem, Sir, your most obedient humble servant."

Honored scientist. Others were impressed by his almanac. In revolutionary Paris Condorcet spread his reputation as a brilliant "African astronomer" and in conservative Baltimore James McHenry found him a publisher. The support of the eminent McHenry, a signer of the Constitution and later Secretary of War in the cabinets of Washington and Adams, was invaluable. In a letter to the publishers (Goddard and Angel) McHenry spoke enthusiastically of Banneker's work and said that he considered "this Negro as a fresh proof that the powers of the mind are disconnected with the color of the skin, or, in other words, a striking contradiction to Mr. Hume's doctrine, that the Negroes are naturally inferior to the whites and unsusceptible of attainments in arts and sciences."

The first issue of "Banneker's almanack and ephemeris" came out in 1793. In an editorial note the publishers announced to a surprised world that they were gratified to bring out this "accurate Ephemeris" by "a sable descendant of Africa."

Encouraged by the success of his publication, Banneker, now back on his farm, decided to retire from active farming and to devote himself to his studies. To pay for his modest needs, he signed over his property to the Ellicotts for an annuity of 12 pounds sterling. He estimated his farm at £180 and figured that, being in his early sixties, he had only about 15 years to live—a fairly correct estimate on both counts. Thus free from worry and work—except for doing his own cooking, dishwashing, laundering, honey gathering and fruit picking—he gave himself wholly to the pleasures of the mind and soul. Sometimes he would sit for hours under a chestnut tree, playing the flute or violin.

Each year he published his almanac, which soon became an American institution. It contained the usual astronomical calculations, meteorological tables, literary extracts, currency lists, scientific comment and similar odds and ends. But there were also items of unusual interest, reflecting the mind of the author. One issue discussed the locust-plague cycle, which Banneker estimated at 17 years, and another contained a dissertation on bees, which has been compared favorably with that by Pliny. Banneker's essays on nature and natural phenomena were based on sharp-eyed personal observation.

Of locusts, for example, he wrote: "I like to forgot to inform, that if their lives are short they are merry. They begin to sing or make a noise from first they come out of the earth till they die. The hindermost part rots off, and it does not appear to be any pain to them, for they still continue on singing till they die."

Of sound: "Standing at my door I heard the discharge of a gun, and in four or five seconds of time, after the discharge, the small shot came rattling about me, one or two of which struck the house; which plainly demonstrates that the velocity of sound is greater than that of a cannon bullet."

Plan for peace. In his general outlook, Banneker was not bound by the usual conventions. He was not, for instance, a professing Christian, although he did attend occasional meetings of the Quakers, whom he admired. From them he may have imbibed the idea of a lasting peace, which he printed in one of his almanacs. His "A Plan of Peace-office for the United States" is one of the most interesting, if naïve, proposals on record. It provided for a Secretary of Peace, "who shall be perfectly free from all the present absurd and vulgar European prejudices upon the subject of government; let him be a genuine republican and sincere Christian." The Secretary of Peace was to be given the power "to establish and maintain free schools in every city, village and township"; to teach the right kind of principles; to inspire in the people "a veneration for human life"; to abolish capital punishment; and to do away with all armed forces, weapons and other military paraphernalia. "Were there no uniforms," Banneker commented, "there would probably be no armies." The essay ended with an agonizing cry—"Ah, Why should men forget that they are Brethren?"

The fame of the almanacs attracted many visitors to the log cabin surrounded by an orchard wherein dwelt this singular philosopher. With his thick white hair and charming conversation, he appeared venerable and inspiring. Visitors described him as a "brave-looking pleasant man . . . very noble in appearance. . . . A perfect gentleman . . . kind, generous, hospitable, humane, dignified and pleasing."

One impressed visitor, Mrs. Susanna Mason, gave vent to her admiration in a poem which she sent him:

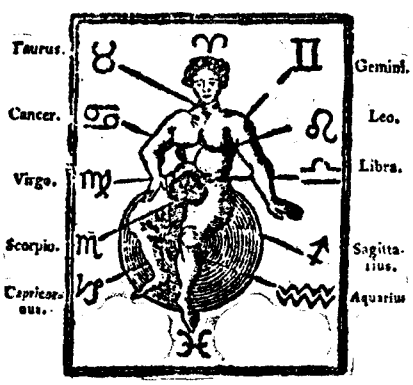
. . . But thou, a man exalted high,
Conspicuous in the world's keen eye,
On record now, thy name's enrolled,
And future ages will be told—
There lived a man named *Banneker,*
An African Astronomer!—

After a long interval the old man replied:

Dear Female Friend:

I have thought of you every day since I saw you last, and of my promise in respect of composing some verses for your amusement. . . . My will is good to oblige you . . . because you give me good advice, and edifying language, in that piece of poetry which you was pleased to present unto me.

On a Sabbath afternoon, in the autumn of 1806, the 75-year-old astronomer was sitting under a tree beside his cabin, when he suddenly collapsed and quietly passed away. Nothing has been done since to honor his name.



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BOOKS IN REVIEW

DESK-SIZE DICTIONARIES: A Consumer's Report

by Malcolm Cowley

ON MY DESK at this moment is a pile of dictionaries 12 inches high and weighing more than 20 pounds. There are five books in all: the new *American College Dictionary*, handsome in its glossy black-and-yellow jacket; *Webster's Collegiate Dictionary, Fifth Edition*, on thin paper; Funk and Wagnalls' *New College Standard Dictionary*, fat and red, like a copy of *Who's Who;* then *The Winston Dictionary, College Edition*, in dull, black buckram smelling of the classroom; and finally a smaller, chubbier volume weighing less than the others: it is my old copy of *The Concise Oxford Dictionary*. If you go to a good bookstore and ask for "a desk or collegiate dictionary at around $5," these are the books that will be offered for your choice. The question is, which of them should you buy?—or, to phrase it a little differently, has *The American College Dictionary*, recently published after four years' work and an investment of more than a half-million dollars, succeeded in outdistancing its rivals?

In trying to answer this double question, I happened to gather a modest amount of information about the art or science of lexicography and the business of selling dictionaries. Both the art and the business are little known to the public that buys millions of those dictionaries each year, so it might be interesting to set down a few of the facts I learned about them.

Dictionary facts. Listing and defining the words in the English language is such a huge undertaking that, generally speaking, every new dictionary has to be based on an older one. Even Dr. Johnson, often called the first English lexicographer, used an interleaved copy of Nathan Bailey's *Universal Etymological English Dictionary* (1730) when preparing his own *Dictionary of the English Language* (1755). For the next century, everyone else used Dr. Johnson. Almost the only English word-book that was a new work from the beginning is the many-volumed *Oxford English Dictionary*; and as a result it took 71 years to prepare. The preliminary studies were started in 1857; the first volume appeared in parts from 1884 to 1888; and the last volume was published in 1928, after most of the earlier contributors, numbered by thousands, were dead and forgotten.

Without the endowment that paid for the big *Oxford*, no American publishing house could afford so many man-years of original study. Yet there have been at least two American dictionaries that made important contributions to English lexicography. The first was of course Noah Webster's *American Dictionary of the English Language* (1828); the second was the six volume (and later ten-volume) *Century Dictionary*, completed in 1891 under the editorship of William Dwight Whitney, our other great lexicographer. By its new, clear definitions, its wealth of quotations, its encyclopedic entries and its pictures, the *Century* affected the character of every American dictionary compiled in the last half-century. Many of them, published under different names, are really abridgments and revisions of the *Century*.

But this dependence of new dictionaries on older ones produces all sorts of complications under the copyright laws. Even the *Century*, original as it was in most respects, ran into copyright difficulties. By agreement with the publishers, it had borrowed many definitions from an English dictionary, the *Imperial*; the trouble was that the *Imperial* had borrowed some of the same definitions from *Webster's*. What followed was a legal conflict between the *Century* and *Webster's* that ended in a partial victory for the latter: the *Century* surrendered, for a term of years, the right to issue abridgments. This is the answer to a question that has always puzzled me: why there has never been a desk-size *Century* to compete with *Webster's Collegiate* and the *College Standard*.

Webster's and Worcester's. Dictionary making in the United States is a bitterly competitive business; that is another fact I discovered from my inquiries. In the past there have been battles among dictionary publishers as bitter and exciting as Jim Fisk's Erie War or the fight for control of the Northern Pacific. One of the great conflicts was between *Webster's* and *Worcester's*, in the years after the Civil War. *Worcester's* favored English rather than American usage, and *Webster's* won the battle by a pretty shameless appeal to nationalism.

Another famous conflict was between *Webster's* and the *Standard*. In the years after 1910, the publishers of both dictionaries employed large scouting forces to look for new words. Each wanted to support its boast of being the biggest word-book in the world, and each *was* the biggest, for a few months after a new edition came on the market; but then the other would list and redefine its rival's 5,000 new words, and add 5,000 still newer words of its own ("I'll see your bet and raise you five"); till at last both dictionaries grew to the size of baby-grand pianos. *Webster's* eventually

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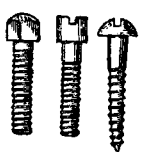
won that battle, too; for I note that the unabridged volume is now advertised as containing 600,000 entries, or 122,000 more than can be found in any other dictionary. It is a monument to human patience, erudition and business enterprise, but I should be just as glad to have it kept under glass in a museum. For practical use I much prefer *Webster's Collegiate,* or any other desk-size dictionary.

"Or any other," one can safely say; for the curious result of the competitive struggle is that almost all the desk dictionaries have come to resemble one another. The *Concise Oxford* is different, being English and strictly a dictionary, without illustrations or encyclopedic features; but the four others might as well be separate editions of the same central work. All of them are combinations, in one convenient volume, of a fairly complete dictionary with a short and unsatisfactory encyclopedia. All of them, with minor variations, offer the same list of words, for which they give the same spelling and the same pronunciation. And more than that: almost all of them omit the same words, to protect the minds of the young and keep from offending religious groups or boards of education. They have profited from the example of another dictionary, one for high-school use, which was banned in the Boston schools and bookstores because it defined the word "jesuitical."



Read and compare. All the dictionaries I have mentioned are carefully edited, well printed and can be listed as "good buys" from the consumer's point of view. But some are better buys than others; and I shall try to describe all five of them, including the *Concise Oxford*. The prices listed are for the cheapest available editions.

1. *Webster's Collegiate Dictionary* (Merriam; $5) is the most popular of the desk-size books; it is rumored to have a sale of 1.2 million copies a year, as against .5 million or less for all its rivals together. Its great virtue is that of being an accurate record of American usage in spelling and syllabication. Many publishers and printers use it as a style book and it is also (to mention a humbler purpose) the final authority in most games of anagrams. In the thin-paper edition it is the lightest of all the American dictionaries under review—an important consideration for anyone who has to reach across his desk to look up a word.

2. *New College Standard Dictionary* (Funk and Wagnalls; $6) has more entries—about 140,000—than any other dictionary of its size or price. Its other distinguishing feature is an attempt to simplify its method of presenting words. The editor, Charles Earle Funk, tried to produce a book "that, lacking nothing in scholarship, would be virtually free from the mystical signs, abbreviations, symbols and redundancies which confuse many readers." He also —without announcing the fact—got rid of the simplified spelling that has spoiled the big *Standard* for many readers. On the whole he has produced an excellent desk-size dictionary, better relatively than the unabridged *Standard* and more complete than *Webster's Collegiate.*

3. *The Winston Dictionary, College Edition* (Winston; $4.50), is *Webster's* chief commercial rival among the desk-size books; it has been adopted by many school boards and is said to have a sale of about 300,000 copies a year. Its two chief advantages are the simplicity of the definitions, which seem to be modeled after those in the old *Century,* and the ease with which one can find them, as a result of the double-size type used for entry words. The *Winston* costs less than the other dictionaries listed; it is also shorter and seems to be directed toward readers with somewhat less schooling.

4. *The Concise Oxford Dictionary* (Oxford; $3.75) differs from its American rivals in being a dictionary pure and simple, instead of a word-book combined with a fact or name-book. It doesn't tell us the population of Madagascar or the length of the Yangtze-kiang, and it doesn't bother to define the specialized words that are used only in scientific treatises; but it is marvelous in its treatment of common words and richest of all short dictionaries in its examples of English as it is currently spoken in England. It puts a strain on the reader by using too many abbreviations and cross-references in trying to save space. Despite this fault, it will always stand on my desk; but one of the American dictionaries will have to stand beside it, to give the spellings and pronunciations that are standard in this country.

ACD for short. Finally there is the new *American College Dictionary* (Random House; $5). After all the money spent on it, how does it compare with the other books I have mentioned?

It is the largest of the desk-size dictionaries, being half again as long as *Webster's Collegiate* and about five percent longer than the *New College Standard,* although it contains only 132,000 entries as against 140,000 in the *Standard.* In its definitions it shows the influence of the *Century,* but it embodies a number of refinements in dictionary making. All the meanings of a word are numbered consecutively and the commonest meaning comes first—as is the proper procedure in any dictionary intended to be used by busy people. The key to pronunciation is a simple and accurate one that has been used in training radio speakers; I like it because it includes the *schwa,* or upside-down "e," as a symbol for the slurred vowel in an unaccented syllable. Foreign phrases and names of persons and places are listed in the general vocabulary, instead of being confined to appendices; and there are tiny maps in the text to show the location of cities and countries.

I have a few criticisms to offer, since this is the first edition of a work that I hope will receive a whole series of revisions in the course of a long life. Too

ILLUSTRATIONS: "AMERICAN COLLEGE DICTIONARY"

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many words in *ACD* are now defined in terms of other words that also need defining; for example, it doesn't help most readers to be told merely that a *curagh* is "a currach"—not even when they look up *currach* and find it described briefly as "a coracle." Some of the longer definitions are too technical and seem to have been written by experts in the various sciences who were not experts in using simple English words. The etymologies are brief and authoritative, but they contain too many new abbreviations, some of which seem to be missing from the Etymology Key on the inside covers.

These, with a few typographical errors, were the principal faults I found in *The American College Dictionary,* and they have little effect on its usefulness. I should call it really a *college* dictionary, as compared with the *Winston,* which is closer to the high-school level, and the *Concise Oxford,* which is in some respects postgraduate. It might also be called a lexicographer's lexicon, since it represents the latest advances in that branch of specialized knowledge. Clarence L. Barnhart, the editor, has worked to make it logical, comprehensive, clear in presentation and accurate in its scholarship. The publishers have done their part by designing for it the handsomest type page I have seen in any abridged dictionary and by binding it stoutly in blue buckram. It would be easier to use if it were two pounds lighter; but still it is at present the best value to be found among the desk-size dictionaries. Whether it remains so depends on the willingness of the publishers to invest still more money in revising it and keeping it up to date.

RETURN TO BELGRADE

THE SILENT PEOPLE SPEAK, by Robert St. John (Doubleday and Company; $4).

WHEN Robert St. John came out of Yugoslavia after her temporary downfall before the Nazi hordes in 1941, he wrote *From the Land of the Silent People.* It was almost unanimously hailed as one of the outstanding books

DRAWINGS BY GOLDEN

on the war in Europe, and it is already safe to say that *The Silent People Speak* will not arouse the same critical enthusiasm. This, however, is not because the story of his postwar return to the Balkans is less dramatic than his account of an aroused people in arms. It is rather that some of the reviewers are apparently disappointed because he has no melodramatic revelation of horrors behind an iron curtain to disclose.

Instead of being embittered by what he saw a year ago in the six federated republics which make up Marshal Tito's Yugoslavia, St. John was considerably encouraged. If there is disillusionment in his book, it comes from his discovery that the American press regards only stories hostile to Tito's regime as news; that the American Embassy in Belgrade tends to make itself a sanctuary for known fascists.

Already *The Silent People Speak* has been compared by a hostile critic to the books that enthusiastic travelers returned from the USSR in the late twenties and early thirties used to write, extolling the progress of the Russian people in building their new world. There is a certain justice to the comparison, but the similarity is hardly the author's doing. What St. John saw in Yugoslavia a year ago did offer many likenesses to the early years of the USSR—many in addition to the obvious ones that both countries were Slavic, essentially agrarian, materially backward and Communist-dominated. The spirit of constructiveness, enthusiasm, youth, vigor, optimism, brashness and dogmatism characteristic of the Soviet regime in its early decades is present in the life of Yugoslavia today as it sets briskly about its task of socialist reconstruction.

St. John's book is not essentially concerned with political analysis or theory. It does not even contain an interview with Marshal Tito. The author simply traveled all over the country, talked with thousands of people and got their case histories of the war and its aftermath. Through their stories an interesting and thoughtful mass account emerges of savage Nazi warfare, including a score of Yugoslav Lidices; of the bitter civil struggle among Partisans, Chetniks, Ustashi and the other battling nationalistic groups that turned the Yugoslavia of the monarchy into a cauldron of blazing hatreds; of the current determined, if ruthless and often clumsy, effort to turn a feudal, chaotic land into a modern republic. It is a sympathetic, though by no means always uncritical, report.

By their bootstraps. Two decades ago, when he was Moscow correspondent of the New York *Times* and America's most authoritative journalistic interpreter of Soviet events, Walter Duranty was frequently charged with heartlessness for dismissing many of the cruelties of the Russian Revolution by recalling that "you can't make an omelet without breaking eggs." This cynical adage, however, was a homely statement of a truth about violent social upturn that is found once more in *The Silent People Speak.* St. John's case histories do not conceal the bitterness, the injustices, the violence and the mistakes which have gone into the making of the social revolution in Yugoslavia. Nor do they make any attempt to deny the absence of democratic amenities, liberties and individual rights upon which the United States, with its traditions of freedom, at least treasures in theory.

At the same time, the author makes it clear that, though social and political backwardness and the dangers of totalitarian government give Yugoslav reconstruction its ugly aspects, there is

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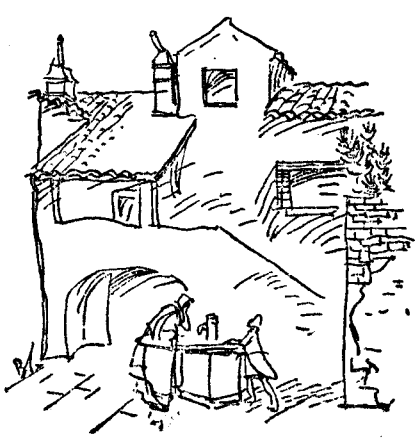
also a record of creative achievement of which the nation has reason to be proud. By the mere fact that a federated republic, where Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Montenegrins, Bosnians, Dalmatians and Macedonians have equality and cultural autonomy, has been substituted for Serbian monarchist domination, which made civil war chronic, the new government has justified its existence. Duranty's broken eggs may be evident, but there is reason to be hopeful about the omelet.

Trial and error. An experienced observer of the Balkans in their prewar days, St. John can compare current conditions with those of the primitive past, rather than with some roseate democratic ideal which has never existed in the US, let alone in the feudal Balkans. Considering, for example, the contention that an iron curtain of censorship keeps Americans from getting the truth about what is happening in Belgrade, he recalls the strict censorship that existed before the war, and how once because of it he couldn't get a story out of the capital for 56 hours. Now, he says, there is no censorship or delay of foreign dispatches.

He also knew the pro-Nazis of the prewar Balkans, and it makes him uneasy to find so many of them employed now at the American Embassy in Belgrade. Nor does he think it a tribute to the freedom of the American press to be told by correspondents that their papers can apparently find unlimited space for news items which place Yugoslavia in a bad light, but that if they try "to send a dispatch which tells how the people are building a new railroad,



or increasing their own food supply, or overcoming illiteracy, back comes the 'hold-down' order." He reports, too, the resentment felt by Yugoslavs because men whom they regard as war criminals are allowed to move freely about Italy, Austria and Germany, and even to organize anti-Yugoslav military units.

St. John did not look for, nor pretend that he found, any Balkan Utopia in Yugoslavia, but he did see a peasant country striving by the most rigorous process of trial and error to build a people's republic out of a shattered and backward land. And if totalitarianism rather than democratic progress triumphs there, our unsympathetic attitude will be at least in part to blame.

RICHARD WATTS JR.

IMPLACABLE GENIUS

THE WOMAN WHO WAS POOR, by Leon Bloy (Sheed and Ward; $3).

CONDEMNED TO LIVE apart from the world, he had lived outside it like the Turks outside Constantinople, a permanent and terrible menace to a decaying and foul society." Thus Leon Bloy describes one of the characters in *The Woman Who Was Poor*. The words are just as appropriate to himself. Born in 1846, he has only recently received any wide attention as a major French literary figure and a prominent Catholic thinker.

His writing was the most unlikely to ingratiate the custodians of "a decaying and foul society," but prominent among his enemies, persecuting him with defamation and neglect, were many of his fellow Catholics. Formally "religious" they may have been, but they were far from eager to be recalled to the radical social and personal implications of their faith.

Bloy was not a systematic critic of his time, but the kind of man who speaks from the passionate revulsion of a personal vision. However, he escaped the danger of crankiness because the frame of his intelligence was never merely personal and eclectic, and at this distance it becomes apparent how he fits into the traditions of both the Church and of the French genius.

The novel, written about fifty years ago, Bloy himself described as "a work that would be, probably, a masterpiece, were I not its author." Nobody else *could* have been its author, and Bloy's masterpiece it is generally considered to be. Initially, at least, it is a strange and disconcerting book. Bloy addresses the reader directly, assails him, disturbs him, offers opinions freely on his own characters, in-

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MAN'S LAST CHOICE

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serts parables, declaims on subjects close to his heart: indeed, describes the book as "itself a long digression on the evil of living, the infernal misfortune of experience."

Disciple of poverty. It is the story of Clotilde, a poor woman of Paris viciously exploited by her family, who becomes an artist's model. Her unusual personality wins her the friendship of several of the most intelligent men of her time; she marries, loses her husband and child, and through a sequence of misfortunes, returns to poverty, no longer, however, as its victim, but as a willing student to a discipline.

Woman is a favorite subject with Bloy. Her nature, he contends, admits of only "two modes of existence. . . . Beatitude or Pleasure. Between these two there is nothing but the 'respectable woman,' that is to say, the female of the Commonplace Man." Clotilde chooses "Beatitude" as her "mode of existence," and although Bloy tells her story with shrewd, worldly understanding, his real concern is to create a kind of legendary figure, rather than a fictional heroine.

"Stories true to life have become not worth telling," he says, but brutally realistic are his accounts of the life and sufferings of the Paris poor. "The world," he writes, "is like those caverns in Algeria where the rebel populations crowded in with their cattle, and were smoked in with fires, so that man and beast, suffocating and maddened, should massacre one another in the dark." There is no sentimental glorification here of a life with which Bloy was intimately familiar, and which he describes as "the gradual, painful demolition of all the barriers of intimate privacy, which the poor can never maintain." As he puts it again, "The poor are not even the owners of their own bodies."

Ideal of poverty. What Bloy celebrates is the *ideal* of Poverty, as a heroic antidote to the acquisitive materialism of our time, as a Christian virtue and a crucible of personality: "not that facile, interesting, *accommodating* poverty, that gives alms to the hypocrisy of this world, but the difficult, revolting, scandalous poverty that must be helped with no hope of glory and that has nothing to give in return."

This translation, published about ten years ago in England, will gain new readers for Bloy, but undoubtedly it will alienate others. The contentious and the superficial will hate it, for it has to be read slowly and seriously or not at all. Bloy himself has supplied an initial healthy discouragement: "The author never promised that he would entertain anybody. He has sometimes even promised the opposite—and kept his word." JOHN FARRELLY

BOOK CLUB SELECTIONS FOR FEBRUARY

BOOK FIND CLUB. *Critics and Crusaders,* by Charles A. Madison. "The chief merit of this book is that the author has shown with a wealth of detail how deeply rooted in American history is radicalism. Beginning with the Abolitionists and ending with the Socialists of the early decades of this century, Madison has told his story through the personalities of the major movements." – George Mayberry (the *NR,* February 3, 1947).

BOOK LEAGUE. *Valiant Lady,* by Brigid Knight. A decent amount of research seems to have gone into this historical novel of Holland's (sixteenth-century) wars with Spain, but it drags its cliché-burdened characters through 150,000 words of undistinguished plotting.

BOOK-OF-THE-MONTH CLUB. *The Great Rehearsal,* by Carl Van Doren. "The story of the making and ratification of the Constitution of the US is told with an attractive combination of warmth and detachment, and Van Doren leaves any application for our time to the intelligent imagination of the reader." – Richard Watts Jr. (the *NR,* January 26).

DOLLAR BOOK CLUB. *Unconquered,* by Neil H. Swanson. The third in a projected group of 30 novels. This one is an account of golden-haired Abby Hale, who is sent to Virginia to be sold as an indentured servant. Her handsome buyer falls in love with her, as does the villain. He steals Abby, her owner gets her back, and the villain retaliates with another scoop. The chase is on again.

FAMILY READING CLUB. *The House That Jacob Built,* by John Gould. A folksy account of the rebuilding of Gould's ancestral home in Maine after its destruction by fire. Gould shrewdly squares his sense of the advantages of modern appliances, gadgets and facilities with traditional values.

HISTORY BOOK CLUB. *The American Iliad,* by Eisenschiml and Newman. This book "has a special reason for existence. It tells the story of the Civil War fighting by quotations from contemporaries, and is good reading for those who are fascinated by battles." – George Soule (the *NR,* December 1, 1947).

LITERARY GUILD. *Eagle in the Sky,* by F. van Wyck Mason. Another historical novel, this one dealing with the careers and love lives of three young doctors, in the unsettled times of 1780-81. Lots of adventure, with some fascinating details on medical cures in the eighteenth century.

PEOPLES BOOK CLUB. *Mary Donovan,* by Anne Miller Downes. An account of a marriage between the daughter of a staid New England family and red-haired Tom Donovan, a pseudo-bohemian who fights against the responsibilities of wife and family.

PROGRESSIVE BOOK CLUB. *The Other Kingdom,* by David Rousset. This book has won well deserved fame in Europe for its description of the life in German concentration camps, particularly Buchenwald. By far the best of many books on the subject.

NON-FICTION BOOK CLUB. Dual Selection. *Causes of Catastrophe,* by L. Don Leet. This book deals in popular language with natural disasters, such as earthquakes and hurricanes, and provides a general introduction to geology, meteorology and related sciences. The historical background —man's earlier attempts to explain these phenomena and the folklore of Atlantis—is entertaining. *Brensham Village,* by John Moore. The landscape, village life and quaint characters of rural England, presented with the usual charm. Vermont flavor.

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RADIO: The Professional Ear

TWENTY MILLION AMERICANS listen to it, so I am really in a minority position in my judgment of "Radio Theatre."

This mammoth, hour-long warhorse, out of Hollywood by Lux, rides the CBS circuit every Monday night, 9 to 10. For 12 years "Radio Theatre" has finished among the first 15 network evening shows; the latest edition of Hooper's handy little green-covered, semi-monthly report (gravely referred to in the trade as "*the* pocket piece") puts it second, with a rating of 26.7.

During the week that measurement was made, the play—"The Farmer's Daughter," with Loretta Young and Joseph Cotten—was good. But my judgment of "Radio Theatre" is based on long acquaintance. It has rarely been outstanding; it has too often used first-class Hollywood talent for second-class stuff produced in slipshod fashion. It has sold Lux.

By the usual methods of computation, a Hooperating of 26.7 means a listening audience of 20,025,000. But I'll still point out that if it is 60-minute air theater you want, there are at least four other shows to choose from. And if you can't wait beyond Monday night for good drama, you are likely to find CBS broadcasting a half-hour of it at 10:30 on the Camel-sponsored "Screen Guild" program.

The critics organize. Just two years ago, a trade-paper survey could not find in the entire United States more than 45 full-time radio editors. Quantitatively, at least, the craft has grown since. The number now is about 100. In New York, all but one of the dailies handle radio more or less seriously, and most of the national magazines pay at least some attention.

Now a step in the direction of legitimatizing professional listening has been made in New York, where a Radio-Television Critics' Circle has just been formed. Paul Denis, of the New York *Post*, who has given a season's labor to the move, is chairman. I am vice-chairman; Jean Sulzberger, of *Time*, is secretary; and Jerry Franken, of *Billboard*, is treasurer. Outfitting radio reviewers and reporters with canes and spats means nothing by itself, except in terms of individual vanity. But the listeners will eventually benefit if recognition of the radio critic's job helps him to bridge the chasm of misunderstanding between the broadcasters and their audiences.

The audience be damned. At present too many broadcasters want the gap between themselves and their listeners to remain. Maybe the fact that so many newspaper publishers own stations has something to do with it. The "hate radio" attitude among publishers is primarily economic; radio is a "competing" medium, even if it happens to be your own station. And dislike of radio easily becomes dislike of its audience as well. Furthermore, it is a truism that—with rare exceptions—the bigger the publisher, the more contemptuous he is of his readers' opinions. It is the most powerful publisher—and thus the most affluent—who, by and large, has gone into radio.

Now these publishers are entering television. Dorothy Holloway, in the last issue of the trade magazine *Television*, computes that "newspapers are outnumbering other television applicants in a ratio of three to one." Perhaps they foresee that television, and later facsimile, will make even more painful inroads into advertising lineage.

The big publisher's contempt for his audience is not the sole reason for the grief between broadcaster and listener. In smaller communities the reason may be that the broadcaster has no roots. He is looked upon as an upstart, a Johnny-come-lately who does not merit anything like the respect accorded, and the influence wielded by, the publisher of the local sheet. In too many cases, that disregard is thoroughly deserved.

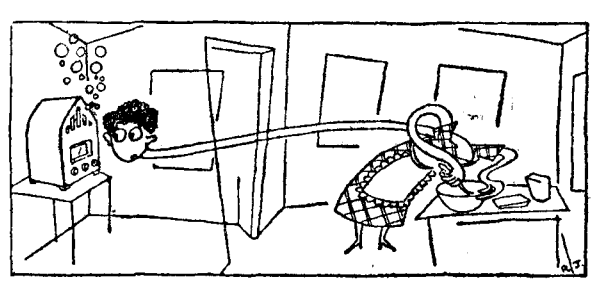
Far, far away. On a larger scale, I have noted before that the major networks seem too remote from their listeners. An NBC vice-president once wondered why listeners felt they could never reach him; after all, he lamented, "My door's always open." It was—once you got through a battery of receptionists and secretaries.

A short time before he registered his grievance, his network's New York station, WNBC, had a sad example of how far away it seemed to its audience. The station had done an excellent job reporting the opening days of the United Nations at Lake Success. But an official was hurt to note that listeners didn't seem to care.

We checked the dossier and found that in three days there had been 35 listener reactions to the UN shows—34 letters and postcards, one telephone call. During the same period, three New York local stations—WNYC, WMCA and WQXR—received, respectively, 2,250, 800 and 600 letters patting them on the back for their UN broadcasts.

Local-station listeners have been encouraged over the years to express their opinions; the smaller stations have needed this encouragement, not only to satisfy a manager's ego but to gladden the hearts and open the purses of sponsors. The big fellow has not cared—or so he told himself. But when it came to a showdown, he did care. He, too, can be worried by protests, and tickled pink by bouquets. Which brings me perilously close to the repetition of an old theme. . . .

SAUL CARSON



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MUSIC: "General Picture" of Wagner

LEE SIMONSON is under attack for his new settings of Wagner's "Ring of the Nibelung" at the Metropolitan Opera. After "Das Rheingold," in which Erda, the Mother of the Earth, rose to sight from the top of a mountain peak, I heard one matron observe to another, "I liked it better when Erda came from low than when she comes from high, didn't you?" With more elegant diction and a longer bill of particulars, the newspaper critics have agreed almost unanimously with her objection to Simonson's disregard for the established traditions of Wagnerian staging.

Lost perspective. On the technical side, Simonson has performed a miracle in providing so much scenery from the $100,000 raised by the Metropolitan Opera Guild for the purpose. Unfortunately his ability to work within a restricted budget is a matter of little concern to the Wagnerites; and from the artistic point of view his conception of "Das Rheingold" and "Die Walküre"—the two operas already given at the time I write—is in many ways so awkward as to seem almost ludicrous. The Nibelung saga is credible only if it preserves a sense of heroic remoteness. When Valhalla, the abode of the gods, looks—as nearly everyone said—like the Cornell Medical Center, and Brünnehilde's rock like a well groomed promontory above the Hudson, the illusion is lost. And when Siegmund ascends what is obviously a gentle, easy staircase in order to pull the sword out of the tree, it is impossible not to feel that the arrangement was planned more for the comfort of Lauritz Melchior's large bulk than for a convincing presentation of one of the focal moments of the story.

Even when the scenes do not directly suggest familiar local sights, Simonson's designs have almost no breadth of fantasy. Long before the end of "Götterdämmerung" the cliché of a deep V-shaped cleft of jagged, lightning-shaped rocks, all too plainly two rather than three-dimensional, is going to become an intolerable bore. The trees which come into view when the door swings open to the spring night in the first act of "Die Walküre" look like a routine illustrator's idea for a book jacket.

Much of the lighting of both "Das Rheingold" and "Die Walküre" is equally inept. It is true that the electrical facilities of the Metropolitan stage are antiquated and inadequate, but Simonson should have planned settings that would not proclaim these shortcomings. The discarded "Ring" settings, conceived in terms of these limited resources, were actually better lighted.

Only at one point—in the substitution of effective picture projections for a noisy steam curtain during the scene changes in "Das Rheingold"—does Simonson fully realize the best possibilities of modern stagecraft. On the other hand, the flames projected in the Magic Fire scene at the end of "Die Walküre" are a dud, for the ring of fire that is supposed to protect the sleeping Brünnehilde stretches hardly more than halfway across the stage, leaving a vast area open to all intruders.

Simonson v. Wagner. Repeated violations of Wagner's specific instructions hamper and sometimes obliterate the sense of the action. Anticipating attack on these grounds, Simonson offered a defense in the January issue of *Theatre Arts*, in which he wrote: "The poetry and power of Wagner's vision reside in his general picture; it is this which is a challenge to the imagination of a director and a scenic designer restaging 'The Ring,' rather than its specific details, often cumbersome, dramatically clumsy and technically not worth, in terms of stage effect, the time and effort involved."

In many cases Simonson's picture is so general that it misses the point altogether. By completely rearranging the first scene of "Die Walküre," for instance, he has forced a large part of the significant action to take place in remote sections of the stage where nobody can see it adequately or grasp its importance. In the opening Rhine scene of "Das Rheingold," Alberich, who is supposed to engage in lustful pursuit of the Rhine maidens, is irreparably separated from them by a visible scrim curtain that renders the whole action improbable.

Little knowledge. Imagination is one thing and artistic irresponsibility is another. By his own admission Simonson knew very little about Wagnerian opera when he undertook his assignment. He simply has not bothered to discover the meaning of many of the composer's directions, and they cannot be ignored without obfuscating the dramatic purpose.

This list of charges has become so long that I am forced by space to make Simonson's sturdy shoulders carry more than a fair share of the censure the new "Ring" production merits. Mary Percy Schenck's costumes are almost completely unevocative of the Wagnerian context; trivial in their attempt to achieve bright color schemes and not well enough designed to be acceptable in a first-class Broadway musical comedy. Herbert Graf's stage direction, while certainly not devoid of traditional background, too often abets and enhances the least defensible features of Simonson's "general picture."

CECIL SMITH

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THEATER: Dead Soldier

SOMEWHERE, someone has said that it took 10,000 dead soldiers to make a good general. This week your reviewer has consoled himself with the thought that it might take ten failures to make a good playwright. The reason for this grim philosophizing is, of course, the sad career of "The Survivors," by Peter Viertel and Irwin Shaw, at the Playhouse Theater. Opening on Monday, praised highly in one quarter and effectively damned in most others, it closed on Saturday, amid the usual scenes of desolation, which remind a man more of what it must have been like in Tobruk the morning it was surrendered to the Germans than an event that is listed in our newspapers in the section headed "Amusements."

It is impossible for a playwright to speak candidly, even if he wished to, about a newly produced play, and I shall not attempt it. The brain is numbed from the prolonged violence of the experience, and more or less incapable of sensible judgments on the work.

Somewhere in the middle of rehearsals, after an early run-through, the collaborators made a mournful discovery. They discovered they wished to rewrite the script almost entirely, discarding the realistic three-act form in which the work had been cast, and employing a looser, impressionistic style which would have given considerably more movement and tension to the play. It was not until the authors had the opportunity of seeing their play on the stage that the potentialities of this different attack on the material became clear to them.

A violent and useful character who dies fortuitously at the end of the first act should have been kept alive to be killed dramatically at the end of the second. The search for the truth behind an old injustice which engages the central character should have been extended for another third of the play, and should have been built into an almost detective-story kind of manhunt through a varied number of backgrounds.

The two main opponents in the story should have hunted each other through streets, barrooms, bunkhouses, offices, in scenes populated by a wide variety of human beings, each of whom was busy with his own work and pleasure, and each of whom had his own contribution of love, hatred, venom, lie and truth to contribute to the fate of the tragically doomed protagonists.

These, and other more concrete proposals engaged the playwrights' minds at mid-rehearsal. Of course, there

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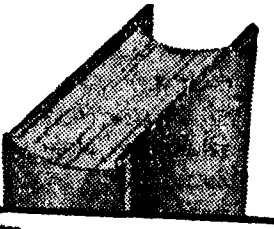

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would be no guarantee of success, even in such drastic measures, but under ideal conditions in the theater the attempt would have been made. It would have meant disbanding the company, completely redesigning the scenery, and restaging the entire production, from scratch, at some distant time in the future. All this at a sacrifice of a great many thousands of dollars, supplied by backers who had considerable faith in the script and production as it originally stood.

Non-stop. The theater today, in one respect at least, has a great deal of the quality of a conveyor belt in a factory. Once the work begins, it moves in an inexorable rhythm toward the set moment at which the finished product must be taken off the line and sold.

This may be all very well for the automobile, and often enough it is even acceptable for a play, but there are times when the rigid six weeks between the first rehearsal and the opening date are fatally constricting. If I were a producer, I would rack my brain to find a method of introducing the invaluable elements of leisure and reflection into the production of a play, somehow incorporating the costs for this additional time into the original budget, in a wild attempt to stop, when necessary, the menacing, steady movement of the conveyor belt.

IRWIN SHAW

MOVIES: The Permanent Company

MOST MOVIES are made, like newspapers, to be looked at once, and only a very few resist the rapid journey from cutting room to oblivion. A disproportionate number of these seem to be French.

Three or four comedies by René Clair; "Crime et Châtiment"; "Poil de Carotte"; "Carnet de Bal"; "Sang d'un Poète"; "Pepe le Moko"; "Kermesse Héroïque"; "Quai des Brumes"—these and a handful of others from Germany, Russia and the United States are the repertory films, the pictures with a personal following and a lease on life. "Les Enfants du Paradis," which came over last year, will take its place in this permanent company, and now a much earlier work, Marcel Pagnol's "Fanny," is an obvious addition to the list.

Films like "Fanny" are not just better than the common run; they seem to be made from a completely different point of departure. Instead of being a tangle of sensations or excitements to be unraveled and discarded in one operation, they are written out of general and continuing human experiences, as though they were meant to have some lasting claim on our interest. They need not be profound or complex—"Fanny" is certainly not—but they are always valid.

The setting of "Fanny" is a waterfront street in Marseilles; the principal characters are Fanny herself (Orane Demazis), César (Raimu), Panisse (Charpin) and Marius (Pierre Fresnay). Marius has gone off to sea, leaving Fanny pregnant. In her desperation she turns to Panisse, a childless widower who happily gives her child his name. César, the baby's grandfather, at first indignantly insists that she await his son's return, but eventually understands that marriage to Panisse is the only solution. When Marius appears to claim his sweetheart, it is César who sends him away.

That's the frame of the story which Pagnol and his director, Marc Allegret, have brought warmly to life with laughter, pathos and the threat of disaster bravely outfaced. It is a heartening tale that never makes the mistake, as films too often do, of underestimating the attractiveness and importance of human beings.

In a company of almost perfect actors, Charpin is perhaps the best. He is touching without being pathetic; funny without being foolish; good without being noble. Raimu's otherwise superb

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performance is marred slightly by passages of exaggerated pantomime that Allegret should have restrained. Mlle. Demazis is wonderful to watch as she interprets the girl's growth to reconciled dignity.

At the very end, the film becomes a little sententious, and Marius, who appears only in the closing sequences, falls so short of the stature of the others as to strike a false note in the moral conflict. But these are quibbles. "Fanny" is part of a trilogy Pagnol wrote and produced ten years ago. It stands entirely on its own feet, but even so every persuasion should be used upon the importers, Siritzky International, to bring over the others.

Made work. "A Lover's Return" ("Le Revenant") is a French bourgeois comedy tailored to Louis Jouvet's particular talent for sardonic humor and conveying the message that love, like measles, is most easily caught and most readily cured before maturity.

Many years earlier, Jouvet was discouraged from his pursuit of the daughter of a Lyons silk family by being potted from ambush by her brother. He returns now as head of a ballet company (played by the Ballet of Monte Carlo), blows a bit on the lady's embers, arranges for the brother's son to be seduced by his première danseuse, and in general lets the reek of scandal into the lives of his ancient enemies. Then he's off to Paris with a bitter homily on his lips and the hair of Lyons the grayer for his visit. This is Jouvet shooting at sitting ducks.

LOUIS JOUVET

Gaby Morlay is wanly beautiful as Jouvet's old love; Ludmila Tcherina dances and seduces with a kind of sleepy appetite. One of her scenes has been so clumsily cut as to rouse lord knows what improper thoughts. François Perier, Chevalier's naïve companion in "Man about Town," gives again his French interpretation of *Seventeen;* Arthur Honegger wrote the music and appears briefly as the man who wrote the music. The picture was obviously made to keep Jouvet busy until more important work could be found for him.

ROBERT HATCH

BANDWAGON

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Italy is making a wonderful comeback. Houses that were bombed are being replaced. Those who have money eat, and it's an incentive to work. In England it's different. There is no black market. No matter how much money you have, it's impossible to buy clothes or food. – *Tyrone Power, as quoted in Louella O. Parsons' column.*

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Take to the Hills

The head of the National Home and Property Owners' Foundation [Arthur W. Binns] testified today there is "enough adequate housing for all" in the United States. . . . "Any difficulty in finding housing accommodations in this country is due to maldistribution of the population." – *AP dispatch from Washington.*

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LABOR: Third Party Splits CIO Board

A GRIM-FACED, angry Philip Murray met the press to declare that the CIO executive board had finally split wide open on the rock of political controversy over the third-party presidential campaign of Henry A. Wallace.

A few minutes later President Harry Bridges of the International Longshoremen's Union, unabashed and unfrightened, staged another press conference to publicize the fact that he and California's new Independent Progressives intended to keep doing business at their brand-new stand—a third-party drive for Wallace in 1948, come hell, high water and the wrath of Murray and 40 others like him.

Eleven members of the executive board, representing 10 commonly identified left-wing unions, refused to accept a majority resolution denouncing a third party in 1948 as "politically unwise." On the second day of the board session, spokesmen of the same unions, minus some absentees, violently attacked the Marshall European Recovery Program as the instrument of Wall Street bankers.

Majority stand. The solid majority wanted nothing to do with a third party. (By implication, said Bridges, this meant a "left-handed" endorsement of President Truman, since CIO endorsement of any likely Republican nominee is unthinkable.)

The majority also endorsed the Marshall Plan. It summoned all affiliated unions to work together in the CIO's Political Action Committee. Letters would be sent out, said Murray, to all state and local industrial-union councils "directing attention" to the official executive-board decisions.

Murray went further to say that, in his opinion, CIO affiliates were at least "morally obligated" to accept the policy statement of the board. But he admitted "frankly" that nothing really could be done to enforce these judgments.

Leaders of two unions in addition to Bridges' Longshoremen—the United Electrical Workers and the tiny Marine Cooks' and Stewards' Association—promptly announced that they were "autonomous" and that the majority vote "didn't mean a thing" in binding their organizations.

A unity split? There was no visible sign that the internal political dispute would shatter the CIO as a functioning unity in other fields. Both Murray and pro-Wallace leaders insisted that economic coöperation would still be feasible. There were no overt or tacit threats of withdrawal by minority unions or of expulsions by the majority.

But the left-right split obviously was sharpened. Murray on two successive days, in the closely guarded board room, made bitter, tongue-lashing attacks on Communists. Virtually all anti-Communists in the CIO repeatedly said they had no desire to force Communists out of the organization. Their objective was to deprive the left wing of leadership. But at least a few of the right-wingers privately indicated after the board meetings that they would have no objection if Bridges and his Longshoremen should choose to depart.

Weakened PAC. Whatever the other effects of this crisis, the CIO's PAC is obviously weakened for the political campaign ahead. The PAC cannot endorse Truman without risking the practical secession of pro-Wallace unions.

Pro-Wallace unions probably will not formally break with the PAC, any more than they will withdraw from the CIO itself, but their dollars and campaign work are likely to go to Wallace-for-President committees and various state "progressive" parties.

Bridges' Longshoremen have already shied away from PAC contributions this year, although this is not generally known; they have also failed to contribute substantially to the CIO's Southern organizing campaign.

WILLARD SHELTON

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BUSINESS: Baruch's Economic Panacea

BETWEEN THE LINES of Bernard Baruch's testimony before the Foreign Relations Committee is an economic point of view that is gaining favor in both business and economic circles. It's a complicated concept which, so far, has eluded the press. The gist of the idea is that we can use tax and budget policies as *automatic* stabilizers of our economy.

It's the *automatic* part of this notion that is the New Look in economics. For example, right now we are debating budget and tax proposals that will be in effect until June, 1949. But who knows whether at that point we will be trying to combat a high-flying inflation or struggling with 10 million unemployed.

The ideal policy would be to peg government taxing and spending to indices of national income or unemployment. When business is good, you automatically tax more and spend less, thus curbing inflationary trends. If unemployment started to increase as the index of income moved down or the number of jobless moved up, the tax rate would drop automatically, thus giving business and consumers more money to spend. At the same time, you automatically increase government spending and so provide work, stimulate business and curb the deflation.

Streamlining. Giving up the horse-and-buggy notion of an annually balanced budget doesn't seem to bother Bernard Baruch. Neither does it faze top-drawer business executives like Paul Hoffman of Studebaker and his colleagues of the Committee for Economic Development, who are among the staunch advocates of automatic stabilization; as is Beardsley Ruml, whose pay-as-you-go tax plan is one example of an automatic stabilizer.

Under our old tax system, you made money, spent it and then paid taxes on it the following year. Actually, when tax day came around you might have been out of a job and thus had to borrow money to pay your taxes. This, of course, intensified the deflationary effect of unemployment. On the other hand, by paying as you earn, when employment is high, so are tax payments. When national income drops, so do taxes. The effect is automatically to counteract inflation and unemployment.

If we had more such automatic stabilizers, according to Paul Hoffman's CED calculations, we would reduce the swing of the economy to 15 percent of its previous ups and downs.

Flexibility. The advocates of automatic stabilization want to incorporate more things of this type into our government policy. Our tax system already has a good deal of flexibility in it. But this built-in flexibility could be greatly increased, economists point out. For example, at present, so long as a man works, taxes are taken out of his pay envelope each week. If he is laid off, his income for the year drops—and so does his tax bracket. But he doesn't get a rebate until the following year. By that time he may be working again. If this happens to enough people, during periods of unemployment when they need money they would not have it; the following year, when they may be working again, they have not only their current earnings but also a tax rebate for the previous year. This could add several billion dollars to the available purchasing power and contribute to an inflationary effect. So economists suggest that rebates be made as soon as a man is out of work.

In addition to this built-in flexibility, there are other automatic stabilizers which could be put into effect. One is to have the Federal Reserve control of credit made automatic so that the supply of money would be contracted as inflation set in, and expanded as business slackened.

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FOREIGN PRESS: Cardinal & Common Man

GUGLIELMO GIANNINI, founder of the Common Man Front, Italy's first Neo-Fascist political party, is not only a slick politician but also a top-notch editor. That's what makes his monthly magazine, *L'Europeo Qualunque,* such a dangerously effective propaganda weapon.

Patterned after Henry Luce's *Time* magazine, *L'Europeo Qualunque* gives brief and slanted analyses of world-wide news events; attacks and praises in cleverly oblique fashion; and keeps unwary readers entertained while they absorb whatever point of view the editor is peddling at the moment.

The January issue of *L'Europeo Qualunque* discloses two rather famous Americans as contributors. Their names are featured on the cover. They are: ex-Representative Hamilton Fish and Francis Cardinal Spellman, Archbishop of New York.

Ham Fish's contribution is blurbed as follows: "Hamilton Fish, member of the American Congress, indicates the dangers of communism in America and defines the position taken by Americans toward the Marxist ideology." The position, as defined by the "congressman": "Americans now realize that it is absolutely impossible to find a compromise between democracy and freedom, and communism and dictatorship. . . ."

Cardinal Spellman takes a somewhat different tack. The title of his piece is "Conjuring a Soviet Peace," and that is a pretty good summation of his five-page article warning against the dangers of making peace with the Soviet Union.

Dark horse. "Two or three times in history," writes the Cardinal, "peace treaties were made which held the world under a reign of terror and locked the destinies of man in their inexorable grip. And today, the menace of a 'Pax Sovietica' descends on democratic nations like an icy fog—if tolerated, it would condemn our sons

L'Europeo Qualunque
IN QUESTO NUMERO:
HAMILTON FISH GUGLIELMO GIANNINI - E. S. M. ROOLVINK - AIMONE DI SAVOIA - AOSTA IL CARDINALE SPELLMAN

The new Neo-Fascist monthly features Ham Fish and Cardinal Spellman as contributors

to slavery in an enchained world."

There is no explanation of how Cardinal Spellman happened to become a contributor to *L'Europeo Qualunque.* It is interesting to note, however, that recent cables from Rome have mentioned that Cardinal Spellman is a dark horse for the job of Vatican Secretary of State—the first American ever seriously considered for the post. You may recall that Cardinal Pacelli, a one-time Vatican Secretary of State, was elevated from that post to become Pius XII.

For war vets. A more authentic "common man" than Giannini's Neo-Fascist creation becomes the subject for a challenging editorial in this week's *Arbeiter-Zeitung,* Socialist Party organ of Vienna.

Under the title, "What Have You Done Since, Soldier?" the editorial writer of *Arbeiter-Zeitung,* himself a war veteran, recalls the days of active fighting when millions of soldiers everywhere swore to prevent another war if only the miracle should happen and they should get out of that one alive.

"The miracle did happen," says the editorial, "to some. Almost three years have passed since. But do you, soldier, remember that pledge of yours today? What have you done since? . . .

"When our fathers returned from the battlefields of 1914-18," continues the editorial, "they were convinced that there never could be another war. The powerful ones of the earth dared not even utter the word 'war,' then. Decimated peoples yearned for peace. Anti-war campaigns were launched by Social Democratic Parties; eminent writers and thinkers enlisted in the cause of peace; press and literature, stage and screen showed the misery of war.

"Determined to settle differences peaceably, the peoples of the world founded a League of Nations. Millions of little men everywhere enthusiastically endorsed the new slogan: 'Never again war!' . . . And yet—another war did come. . . .

"It started with democratic institutions being discredited, then sabotaged, made ridiculous and unworkable, and finally abolished. Labor organizations were at first tampered with, then attacked, and finally dissolved. Democratic leaders were slandered, then imprisoned, and finally murdered. It happened this way in Italy, in Germany, and it happened in Austria.

"In its slow, deliberate forward march, Reaction manipulated the discontent of unemployed veterans of a traditionally nationalistic middle class; the disillusionment of the professional-officer caste; and the demoralization of labor. Armed bands were formed. They called them Fascists in Italy, SA in Germany, and in Austria they were called the Home Guard.

"And when the economic crisis was at its height, Reaction used these armed bands to gain control of government. Once it had a firm grip on the military, the police and government institutions, Reaction became the untouchable ruler over the life and death of every citizen

"Then came rearmament," continues the editorial. "Rearmament and conscription. Helpless and voiceless, the little man was once again driven to slaughter. You know how that was, soldier. The draft notice came in the mail, and we were off. Whoever did not show up, was hunted down. . . ."

Never again war, concludes the editorial. Never again must men be made to march, be it for Kaisers, Führers—or blocs.

One wonders where the American GI might look for such an eloquent plea against fascism and war.

EVA PUTNAM

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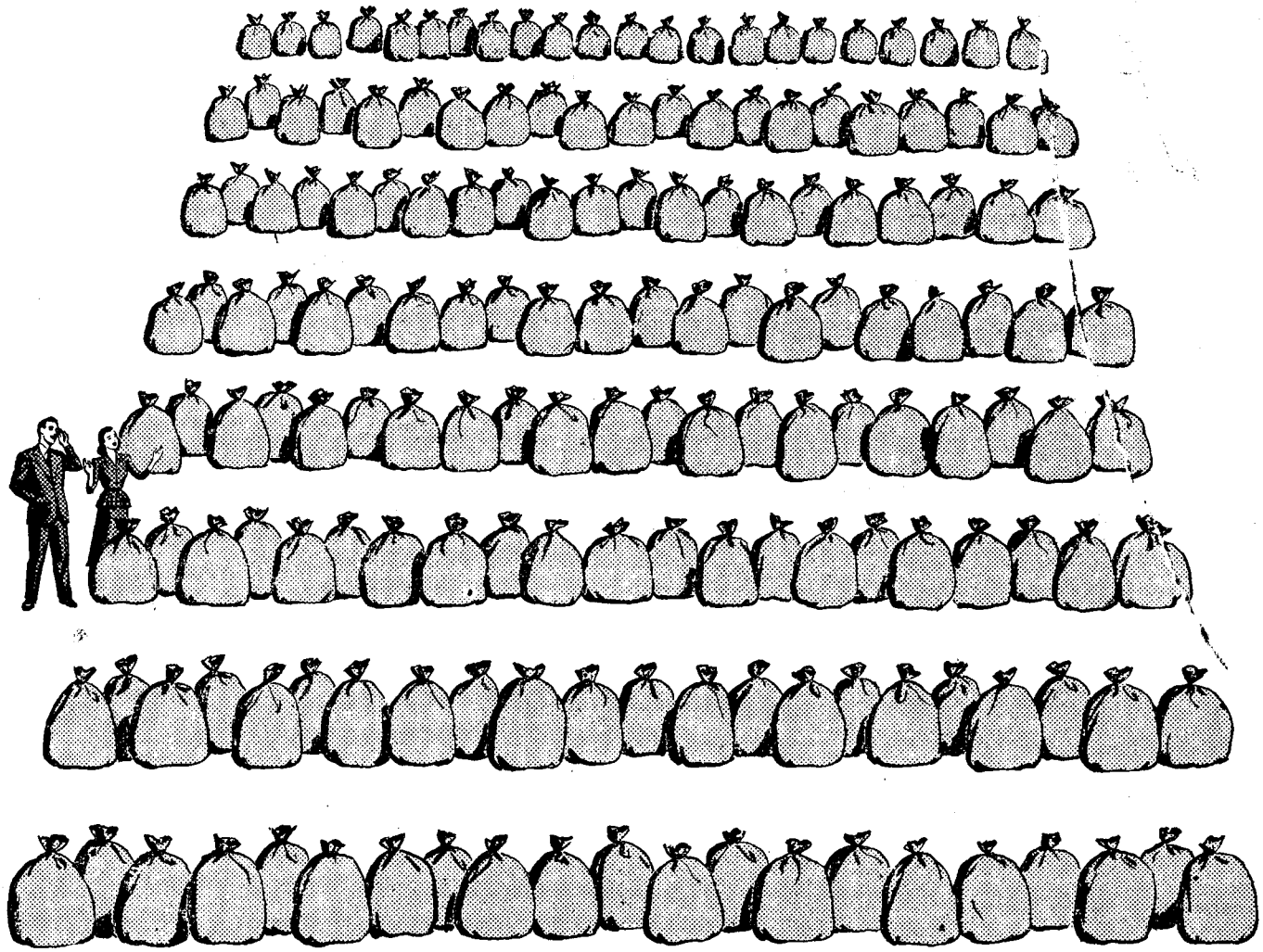

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